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The JESUIT EDUCATIONAL QUARTERLY, published in June, September, December, and March by the Jesuit Educational Association, represents the Jesuit high schools, colleges, and universities of the United States.

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ADDRESS COMMUNICATIONS TO THE EDITOR

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Jesuit Educational Quarterly

June 1941

CONTENTS

PROCEEDINGS OF NATIONAL MEETING, 1941 JESUIT EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION	5
Jesuit Institutions Represented at the Annual Meeting	5
General Meeting of All Delegates	6
Letter of Very Reverend Father Assistant	7
Report of Executive Director of the Jesuit Educational Association at Annual Meeting	9
Dinner Meeting of All Delegates	17
Jesuit Education and Ibero-American Relations <i>Senor Jose Ortiz-Monasterio</i>	18
Meeting of Secondary-School Delegates, J. E. A.	24
Meeting of University and College Delegates	28
WHY THE SOCIETY OF JESUS BECAME A TEACHING ORDER <i>Pedro Leturia, S. J.</i>	31



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Proceedings of Annual Meeting, Jesuit Educational Association

ROOSEVELT HOTEL, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

APRIL 15, 17, 18, 1941

Jesuit Institutions Represented at the Annual Meeting

California Province:

Alma College
Bellarmine College Preparatory
St. Ignatius High School, San Francisco
Sacred Heart Novitiate, Los Gatos
University of Santa Clara
University of San Francisco

Chicago Province:

John Carroll University
University of Detroit
St. Ignatius High School, Chicago
St. Ignatius High School, Cleveland
Loyola Academy, Chicago
Loyola University
Milford Novitiate, Ohio
West Baden College
St. Xavier High School, Cincinnati
Xavier University
(St. Mary's Seminary, Mundelein)

Maryland-New York Province:

Brooklyn Preparatory
Canisius High School
Canisius College
Fordham Preparatory
Fordham University
Georgetown Preparatory
Georgetown University
Gonzaga High School
Loyola School, New York
Loyola High School, Baltimore
Loyola College

Regis High School
St. Joseph's High School
St. Joseph's College
St. Peter's Preparatory
St. Peter's College
Hudson College (St. Peter's)
Woodstock College
Xavier High School

Missouri Province:

Campion High School
Creighton University
Marquette University
Rockhurst College
St. Mary's College, Kansas
St. Louis University High School
St. Louis University

New England Province:

Boston College High School
Boston College
Cranwell Preparatory
Holy Cross College
Weston College

New Orleans Province:

Jesuit High School, New Orleans
Jesuit High School, Tampa
Loyola University
St. Charles College, Grand Coteau
St. John's College, Shreveport
Spring Hill College

Oregon Province:

Mt. St. Michael's, Spokane

General Meeting of All Delegates

The first meeting convened on Tuesday evening, April 15, at 7 P. M., with one hundred and fifty-three in attendance. The executive director, Father Edward B. Rooney, presided. Father Andrew C. Smith was appointed secretary of the meeting. A letter of greetings from Very Reverend Father Assistant, with encouraging praise for the work accomplished by the J. E. A., was read. The Reverend Thomas J. Shields, Provincial, New Orleans Province, welcomed the delegates to New Orleans and the South. The annual report to the Association was made by the executive director. Father William J. McGucken of the Executive Committee, reported on the work of preparation and on the structure of the newly completed Constitutions of the J. E. A. General discussion by the delegates followed. The meeting adjourned at 9:30 P. M.

Letter of Very Reverend Father Assistant

THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

ST. ANDREW-ON-HUDSON
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT

April 9, 1941

Reverend Edward B. Rooney, S. J.
Executive Director
Jesuit Educational Association

Dear Father Rooney:—

P. C.

It is a pleasure to accede to your request and send a word of greeting to the members of the Jesuit Educational Association gathered for their annual meeting.

During the past year it was my delightful privilege to visit many of our schools. It was a real inspiration and a source of genuine gratification to see how intensely our men apply themselves to the ministry of education, to note their devotion to duty, to sense their interest in the problems which face them, and to mark their anxiety to make Jesuit Education fruitful in the lives of those who come under its influence. I have often remarked this to His Paternity, and I can assure you of his appreciation and of his high regard for Ours engaged in this work.

It is abundantly clear that all this is due in no small measure to the Jesuit Educational Association. I extend, therefore, to the Executive Director, to the Province Prefects of Studies, as well as to all Deans and Principals, and to all who have in any way contributed to the work of the Association, my sincere thanks for all they have done. I would say a special word of appreciation to the Editors and Contributors of the QUARTERLY, and I would bespeak for this representative publication the co-operation of all, whether by way of subscription or by articles contributed.

We all view the immediate future with no little concern. No doubt, its discussion will absorb much of your deliberations. If it be permitted me to make one recommendation, it is this: that because of the peculiar need, the department of Religion be still more thoroughly organized, the courses bettered, and the professors be given every opportunity for proper preparation. Paralleling this, deepen the spiritual life of the Students. Intensify

Sodality Action. Promote the frequentation of the Sacraments and attendance at Mass. Perfect the conduct of the Students' Retreat. Develop proper chapel facilities. Arrange for full time Student Counsellors and give them fitting and necessary offices. The years ahead are a challenge to fundamentals, and most fundamental of all is FAITH. We and our Students must meet the challenge and be "fortes in fide."

I pray God's continued blessing on all!

Sincerely in the Sacred Heart,
(Signed) ZACHEUS J. MAHER, S. J.

Report of Executive Director of the Jesuit Educational Association at Annual Meeting

I wish to thank Father Shields, Provincial of the New Orleans Province, for the very cordial welcome he has extended to the Jesuit Educational Association. It is a very common saying that New Orleans is one of, if not the most, distinctive cities in the United States. It merits this title not merely because of its quaint French Quarter, and its many other pleasant features, but particularly because of the spirit of hospitality and friendliness that pervades the city. It is not without significance that this Province of the Society is called the Province of New Orleans, for the spirit of hospitality which has made the city so famous is also the spirit of the Society in this section of the country. We are happy to be in New Orleans for this convention of the N. C. E. A. and the J. E. A., and to experience not only what southern hospitality means but especially what southern Jesuit hospitality is.

CONVENTIONS

This large gathering is one more proof that the wishes of our Superiors that "vigeta et efficiens Associatio Universitatum, Collegiorum et Scholarum Altarum Societatis Jesu in Statibus Unitis institutur," has been fulfilled to the letter and that a remarkable degree of union and cooperation between the Jesuit institutions of the country has been attained. In the letter which accompanied the promulgation of the *Instructio*, Very Reverend Father General warned us that the program outlined in the *Instructio* could not be achieved "without a considerable outlay of money." Your presence here tonight, and the excellent representation of Jesuit schools at so many other educational gatherings, bears witness to the cooperation of Superiors in the program and to their generosity in forwarding it. I wish to make use of this opportunity to thank the Superiors of our educational institutions and the Provincials of the various provinces for their whole-hearted cooperation and unfailing generosity in fostering the work of the Jesuit Educational Association.

It will be well for us as delegates of Jesuit institutions to these various conventions to realize that we do not fulfill our duty by mere physical presence at meetings. We are first of all delegates; we represent an institution or a department of that institution. We come not only for our own

individual growth and efficiency but for the growth and increased efficiency of the entire institution. That this worthy aim of educational conventions be attained it is the desire of the Executive Committee of the J. E. A., and I know that we echo the wishes of the Board of Governors of the J. E. A., the Reverend Provincials, that the following points be adopted as a policy in regard to conventions.

1. Let individual Jesuits remember that they are delegates of a school or a department and hence must consult the good of the school or department, and not merely their own individual good or professional interests.

2. They are to be faithful in attending the meetings of the convention.

3. Make every effort to meet other delegates and not go apart in groups by themselves. Mingle with laymen and other priests and in this way valuable contacts will be made.

4. Upon returning from a meeting or convention a report should be made to the Rector of the institution and to the dean, or department head, and through them to the department or other faculty members, informing them of trends and problems noted at the convention.

5. Be articulate at meetings. Join in discussions and accept places on programs when they are offered.

I feel certain that if this policy is adopted in all our schools, as it already has been in some of them, great benefit will be derived from attendance at conventions and entire faculties will draw profit from the experience gained by individual delegates.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

We are all aware, I am sure, and we shall become more so during the days of these conventions of the National Catholic and J. E. A. that our schools are facing exceptionally important problems. Probably the most pressing of these will arise from the national defense program and the necessity of adjusting our institutions to its demands. This subject was discussed at the meetings of the Executive Committee on Saturday and Monday. It will be discussed at the meetings of the college section of the N. C. E. A.

It is evident to all that Jesuit institutions as well as all Catholic institutions must give ready, loyal, and whole-hearted cooperation to the program of national defense. We must face the fact that our colleges, our universities, and our professional schools will lose students. This is inevitable and we must adjust ourselves to the loss.

If the proper cooperation and necessary adjustment to conditions are to be made intelligently, all rectors, deans, and principals must keep *au courant* with the national defense program and its influence on education. For this purpose the Executive Committee urges all to keep in constant

touch with such national organizations as the American Council on Education and the Association of American Colleges, as these two organizations are watching the situation with the greatest care.

Since matter of deferment of military service is left almost entirely in the hands of local draft boards it is important that school officials get to know the local draft boards and be prepared to present worthy cases.

In regard to deferment of service for lay members of faculties, it is our opinion that each case should be judged on its own merits, and that we should not attempt blanket-deferment of faculty members.

It is most necessary, we think, that in each of our institutions a Committee on National Defense be appointed to look after all these matters—and to keep itself and the faculty informed on all problems arising from the defense program.

LATIN-AMERICAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

In the minds of many there is a close association between the problem of national defense and the problem of fostering Latin-American cultural relations. This close association is probably unfortunate for it introduces an element of selfishness where duty alone and Christian zeal should have offered more powerful motivation. It is not my purpose to encroach on the territory of Senor Monasterio, an authority on Latin-American relations, who will address us on Thursday evening. But I wish to propose the suggestions of a committee of the J. E. A. appointed to study the possibilities of Jesuit cooperation in Latin-American cultural relations. I quote from the committee report:

One of the major problems, if not *the* problem, is the matter of language difference. In the solution of this the schools must play an important role. Hence, Spanish must be put into *our* modern-language curriculum, in high schools as well as in the colleges and universities. And some of our schools would do well to give thought to Portuguese. The stigma, attached to Spanish by many, must be removed—not only should it be offered, but students should be encouraged to take it. Spanish is going to have a usefulness which will probably far surpass that of the so-called academic languages, French and German. It is fine to dream of training future doctoral candidates, but might it not be far wiser to train future “good will” ambassadors?

Endeavor to coordinate existing courses and to introduce others, looking toward the formation of Latin-American “Institutes” in some, at least, of our better equipped universities. The history department will probably be the hub of organization, but the economics, the language, and the sociology departments should be able to contribute.

Encourage competent individuals of our faculties, Jesuit and lay, to engage in lecture and conference work on subjects Latin-American. But in this connection, *be careful*. Do not entrust the reputation of your college or university to amateur enthusiasts, no matter how willing. “Latin-America is dynamite” and children should not be allowed to play with dynamite. Use whatever facilities may be available on the radio. But, again, allow only the competent to do the talking.

Some system of scholarships for Jesuit Latin-Americans should be arranged. If we do not act quickly in this matter, we are going to be completely outdistanced by other Catholic universities. This writer thinks that graduate students and professional students would prove the more profitable investment—doctors, dentists, engineers, journalists, historians, economists, scientists, etc.

What non-sectarian and protestant organizations have been doing to "conquer" South America should be clear even to the headline reader. I hope that Catholics have not missed the bus.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

For many years Catholics have been fighting against any proposal that would lead, in any way, to federal control of education. No doubt, it has been this same fear of federal control that has prompted the attitude of opposition on the part of Catholics to federal aid to education. My reason for bringing up this problem at this meeting is that of late there have been persistent rumors of a change of attitude toward federal aid to education on the part of the American bishops. In order to get first-hand information on this subject I spoke this morning with Father George Johnson, secretary-general of the N. C. E. A. His answer to my inquiry is briefly this:

- a. The bishops are, of course, opposed to federal control of education.
- b. They are opposed to federal aid to education if it means federal control.
- c. If federal aid to education does come, then the rights of Catholic education, or perhaps, better still, Catholic citizens must be protected; and they must share in the benefits of federal aid.
- d. In any system of federal aid we must continue to guard against federal control.

It is well, I think, for us as Catholic educators to know that this seems to be the attitude of the bishops of the United States.

PROVINCIALS' MEETING

One of the duties of the executive director of the J. E. A. is to make an annual report to the Provincials of the American Assistancy on the condition of Jesuit education in America, and to present at the annual meeting of the J. E. A. any decisions made by the Provincials in regard to our colleges and high schools. From the Acta of the last meeting of the Provincials I present the following items.

1. Changes in curricula, textbooks, etc., are not to be made in individual schools without previous consultation with the Province prefect of studies.
2. The Provincials desire that special care be exercised by school officials in regard to supervision, editing, and censorship of school publications. Such publications must always show a definite Catholic social outlook.
3. The Provincials desire that it be the definite policy in all our schools that as far as possible Jesuits be in charge of extra-curricular activities.

4. The Provincials expressed disapproval of any tendency to make of our schools "morning schools" by endeavoring to have classes end at noon-time.

At the next meeting of the Provincials of the Assistancy which will be held in Chicago on May 13, the report of the executive director will include the following:

1. In keeping with the desire of the College and University Department of the J. E. A., two graduate schools, viz., those of St. Louis University and Fordham University, have established departments of sociology where Catholics, lay and religious, may secure adequate graduate training in sociology.

2. A proposal in regard to the better preparation of teachers of philosophy for our colleges. Already two of our universities (Fordham and St. Louis) are formulating a program which will definitely meet this need.

3. The report of a sub-committee of the Executive Committee that has worked for some time on a set of Statutes for universities of complex organization, and another set for colleges. The purpose of the Executive Committee is simply to furnish a set of statutes that can serve as a model for Jesuit institutions. It is not intended that they shall be mandatory unless the Provincial of an individual province should so desire for its institutions.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS

Some time ago I was asked by the presidents of some Jesuit colleges what our attitude should be toward the recently organized N. F. C. C. S. It happened that at the same time two members of the Hierarchy questioned the Rector of one of our colleges on this organization and indicated some dissatisfaction with certain aspects of it.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the J. E. A. held in Chicago, September 1940, a committee was appointed to study the constitution of the N. F. C. C. S. The report of the committee which was accepted by the Executive Committee stated that there was nothing in the constitution of the N. F. C. C. S. to which exception could be taken; that the organization itself was commendable and that we could very well lend it support.

This information was sent to the colleges. Again, however, some bishops showed concern about the approval of the organization, and the relationship of the organization to the local Ordinary.

For this reason, the matter was referred directly to the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington. In a letter of December 23, 1940, Reverend Howard F. Carroll, assistant general secretary of the N. C. W. C. stated,

Since writing you I took the occasion to speak to Bishop Duffy during the Conference of Diocesan Youth Directors in New Orleans of your interest in the Federation and of your enquiry about its status. His Excellency agreed to write a specific endorsement and approval of it, which I shall be glad to forward to you when it comes.

I hardly need assure you that individual student councils affiliating with the Federation are urged to conform to the wishes of their Ordinary.

Regarding the development of regional units of the Federation it is expressly stated in the Constitution that the Ordinary of the diocese in which the regional unit has its headquarters, or after which the regional unit is named, shall appoint a priest to serve as the regional moderator.

The organizational set-up of the National Catholic Youth Council makes provision for the two student federations in the College and University Section. Bishop Duffy's letter, as well as a little folder we are preparing on the Youth Department and The Youth Council, will likely make this tie-up very clear. In other words, the local Ordinaries will have definite knowledge of the existence and the location of the N. F. C. C. S. in the larger N. C. Y. C. and through their Diocesan Councils have supervision of its local units.

Shortly after that date the following letter was received from Father Carroll.

Dear Father Rooney:

The following is the text of a letter of Bishop Duffy written to the Youth Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference under date of December 19, 1940.

"During the recent meeting of the Bishops, the Administrative Board, National Catholic Welfare Conference was authorized to create A Youth Department within the framework of the Conference. Previously, in April, 1937, authorization for the unification of youth's forces through the medium of the National Catholic Youth Council was given.

"One important function of the Youth Department is the promotion and the development of the National Catholic Youth Council. As Episcopal Chairman of the Department, I am most anxious to see the Youth Council take definite form.

"According to the approved plan, the National Federation of Catholic College Students is one of the most important units in the College and University Section of the National Council. In view of that fact, I wish you would give the N. F. C. C. S. your particular attention. I am sure that our Catholic college students realize the deep significance of their participation and responsibility in our co-ordinated youth apostolate. I hope that the Federation will attract and hold the interest of all our Catholic student bodies. To this end, I urge you to assist the officers of the Federation in this very important work of extending the National Federation of Catholic College Students.

"To date the Federation has made some real progress. Its Constitution seems to be in keeping with the needs of our College youth, and I hope that as a result of our concerted efforts, all our Catholic colleges and universities will be numbered among its affiliates.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

(Signed) JOHN A. DUFFY,

Most Reverend John A. Duffy, D.D.

Episcopal Chairman, Youth Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference"

I trust that it may serve to further clarify the point to which you kindly called my attention some while ago. . . .

With every good wish, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) HOWARD J. CARROLL,

Assistant General Secretary

It seems dear from these letters that the N. F. C. C. S. has the approval of the Hierarchy and active, enthusiastic support. Naturally, then, there is no opposition on the part of the J. E. A. to it. Moreover, as stated above, the Executive Committee of the J. E. A. is of the opinion that it is a worth-while organization. We desire, however, that each college be left perfectly free to join or not to join the association as local authorities may decide and that, when possible, participation be through our Sodalities. Before taking any steps toward joining the association it will be wise to ascertain the mind of the Ordinary of the diocese toward the organization.

J. E. Q. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Requests are frequently sent to the Prefects General or the Executive Director of the J. E. A. for the names of competent laymen to fill teaching or administrative positions in Jesuit high schools, colleges, or universities. It often happens too that competent laymen are available for such positions. The editors of the J. E. Q. will be glad to print announcement of teacher needs of our schools and availability of teachers from our schools. Such announcements should be sent to the managing editor of the JESUIT EDUCATIONAL QUARTERLY.

INSTITUTES FOR TEACHERS OF RELIGION

As has been the practice for the past few years an institute for college teachers of religion will be held this summer at Campion, Prairie du Chien, in August under the inspiration and able direction of Father Bakewell Morrison, of St. Louis University. This Institute has been a source of interesting and helpful discussion of problems connected with the teaching of religion in our colleges. This year a similar institute will be conducted at West Baden for high-school religion teachers, July 7-11.

Those desirous of further details on the college institute may write Father Morrison at St. Louis University. For information on the high-school institute, write to Father Julian L. Maline, West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana.

ALUMNI QUESTIONNAIRE

A short time ago I attended a meeting at which an excellent pastor of one of the finest parishes in the country presented a report on a survey he had made of a group of 150 families of his parish. One of the purposes of the study was to determine the effect on these families of the religious training received in the home, in Catholic high school, and in the Catholic college. The results of the study were rather startling, and none too flattering for Catholic high schools or colleges. I do not vouch for the value of this particular study. The conclusions, however, were quite in keeping with much criticism that is heard today of Catholic

colleges and high schools, especially in regard to the results of the religious training therein received. The schools, it is said, produce neither thorough-going Catholics nor outstanding leaders.

Personally, I am convinced that much of the criticism is unfounded and unfair; that much of it is based on false assumptions, either on the purpose of Catholic education or on the meaning of leader. My conviction, I feel sure, is not merely the result of wishful thinking. But I would like to be able to give some tangible proof in the form of telling statistics that would indicate that as far as Jesuit schools are concerned the charges are not borne out by the facts. I should like therefore to have the opinion of Jesuits on the advisability and practicability of making a study, by questionnaire if possible, of our alumni or a group of them, to obtain positive proof of the Catholic influence of Jesuit schools on the future life of their students.

PROGRESS IN OUR SCHOOLS

The position of executive director of the Jesuit Educational Association has given me a unique advantage of personal contact with all Jesuit schools in the United States. I am happy to report to you that my visits to your schools have been a source of consolation to me personally for I have seen the excellent progress that is being made. It will be an added source of pleasure to report to Very Reverend Father General and to the Provincials of the American Assistancy on this progress and on the eager desire for still further progress.

If I might make a few suggestions indicating general lines along which we should strive for further progress I would say first of all that we must make every effort to make our schools still more *Catholic*. There must be a deep consciousness on the part of all, administrators and faculty alike, of specifically Catholic aims and objectives. And this holds not merely for high schools and liberal arts colleges but for professional schools as well.

Our schools besides being Catholic are Jesuit schools. From this fact comes my second suggestion and it is that our efforts should be directed to making our schools more Jesuit—by holding fast to Jesuit traditions and Jesuit methods. Relinquishing time-tried traditional methods and practices of Jesuit education has not always been for the best. Often it has resulted in simply making of a Jesuit high school or a Jesuit college just another high school or college.

If our schools are to improve as they should it is important that there be constant improvement in our teaching. For this reason my third suggestion is that the prescriptions of the Institute and of the *Ratio Studiorum* on supervision of classes be more generally and more faithfully adhered to. Supervision of classes is a primary function of the office of principal and

dean. If this function is performed regularly it will result in keeping our teaching on a high level.

The standards and ideals of Jesuit education are high and there is ample evidence that rectors and deans and principals are doing their utmost to live up to those standards and to reach those ideals, often in the face of trying difficulties and discouraging financial burdens. In the general interest of Catholic education and in the particular interest of Jesuit education we must endeavor to have our schools recognized in the best educational circles. For this reason I think it important, this is my last suggestion, that as many of our colleges as possible should strive for inclusion in the approved list of the Association of American Universities. Of the twenty-four Jesuit colleges and universities in the country, only six are on the approved list of the A. A. U. Personally I feel that many others deserve to be on this list and should no longer hesitate to make application for approval. Before taking definite steps, however, they should consult with their Province prefect of studies. Among the Catholic colleges on the approved list of the A. A. U. there are at least eight small Catholic colleges for women. While not wishing to open myself to the charge of odious or meaningless comparisons, I do think that the number of Jesuit schools on this list should be, and could be, much higher.

To you who are responsible, in great measure, for the growth and improvement of Jesuit education in America I offer these suggestions in the hope that by carrying them out to the best of our ability our schools will achieve what they are meant to achieve, *Majorem Dei Gloriam*.

Dinner Meeting of All Delegates

Thursday, April 17, 6:30 P. M.

Loyola University of the South was host to the delegates at dinner. At the invitation of the Executive Committee, Father George Johnson, secretary-general of N. C. E. A., spoke briefly at this meeting on the attitude of the American bishops to federal aid to education. An address, "Education and Democracy" was made by Father Edmund A. Walsh, vice president, Georgetown University. Senor Jose Ortiz-Monasterio, C.E., Mil.E., of the faculty of Loyola University, New Orleans, formerly director of the Military College of Mexico under President Diaz, and an authority on Inter-American relations, read an inspiring paper on "Jesuit Education and Ibero-American Relations."

Jesuit Education and Ibero-American Relations

SEÑOR JOSE ORTIZ-MONASTERIO

The history of mankind is recorded in many volumes. For this occasion, I selected one of them; and one that, in my mind and the minds of those who have no prejudices, contains the records of the most magnificent episode of true civilization; one that contains in its pages the details of the sacrifices, the struggles, the heroism that had to be performed in order to transplant European culture to the New World.

This volume, a very large one, holds in its pages the irrefutable evidences of the work done by Spain over a period of three hundred years. Upon reading this volume, one is convinced of the greatness, the unselfishness, and the true Christian way in which the task was accomplished, and one must accept unreservedly that it merits warm praise for its depth, breadth, and permanency.

This great work of the Spanish Colonial epoch was the task undertaken by the Catholic Church.

Among the many chapters found in this volume, there is one that has always had an alluring effect upon me; a chapter in which the pages are stained with blood and which is printed in indelible golden characters. This chapter is devoted to the work done in the educational field all over Ibero-America by the Society of Jesus. The bloodstains that appear on the pages of this chapter represent the life-blood of its martyrs; the golden and ineffacable type symbolizes the greatness and endurance of its work.

Following upon the heels of conquest in the New World came indefatigable Friars, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, that devoted their lives to preaching, teaching, and baptizing the natives. The call from which the whole educational system developed was the mission, in which the Friars taught the elements of letters and gave the Indians the basic principles that would permit them to lead peaceful, industrious, and religious lives. Every mission was in fact an industrial school where the simple arts were taught and where discipline was an important factor of the daily routine.

Ibero-America, from California to Chile, was fringed with missions, the outposts of civilization. Adjoining each church the Franciscans built a school and according to Calancha, the most picturesque religious chronicler of Peru, the missionaries were instructed by their Superiors to endeavor

to elevate the Indians to Spanish standards, and to do it in a manner that would imbue them with such a sense of honor that they would forget their former habits. This should be accomplished in such a way, however, that they should not be led to vanity and self-indulgence, but rather they would be coached in moral habits and virtues so as to make them honest and estimable. Schools should be opened for them in which they could learn to read, write, and count; where they could learn civics and be trained in the manual arts so as to be equipped for honest work. They would be prepared to become carpenters, painters, tailors, or silversmiths, or fitted for other skills proportionate to their ability and of advantage to their tribesmen.

Such was the basic program of education that was followed by the early Friars, which gradually improved and permitted the Indians and the descendants of the Spanish "conquistadores" to have at their disposal all that was indispensable for a good foundation for their education.

Friar Peter of Ghent founded in New Spain the first school in the American Continent. It was named "Santa Cruz de Tlalotelolco" and it was a sort of an informal university with an elementary school, a school of fine arts, and higher education for adults, as well as an elementary training school in medicine for nurses.

In another section of New Spain, Bishop Vasco de Quiroga ordered that all the diverse mechanical trades be taught in the centers of Indian population. Thus, cotton factories were established in one place, feather works in another, copper, silver, and gold works, each in different regions.

The first Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, founded the school of San Juan de Letran for Indians and Mestizo orphans. The same type of work was done in all parts of the Spanish Empire in the New World. Schools were opened everywhere and the blessing of education was given to all, Indians, Mestizos, and the descendants of the conquistadores.

In 1538, the first university was established in Santo Domingo and attracted students from all America. In 1551 to 1553, the Royal and Pontifical Universities of San Marcos, of Lima, and of Mexico, were inaugurated, in order to give to the people of the Western Hemisphere the opportunity of the benefits of higher education. Up to this time, the burden of the organization and development of the educational structure of the New World had fallen upon the shoulders of the three great religious orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. They had done a very wonderful work, and it is difficult to find adequate words to praise them. It was simply magnificent.

On the 12th of January, 1547, Ignatius of Loyola wrote a letter

from Rome to the Reverend Fathers Estrada and Torres, superiors of the Spanish Jesuits. In this letter, he issued a command that we Ibero-Americans consider as the starting point of the works of the Society of Jesus in the New World. St. Ignatius, with the vision of an illuminati, ordered his followers in Spain: "To the New World send some of our men if they call for them, and if they do not call for them, send them anyway!"

The first of the Jesuits arrived in the New World in 1572 and from that day forward, a complete transformation took place in the educational work in America. The whole system was organized along European lines and the higher education was placed on a scientific basis. In 1573, they founded the schools of San Pedro y San Pablo, and San Ildefonso, in the capital of New Spain; in 1574, schools were founded at Patzouaro and Caxaca; in 1578, in Puebla and Vera Cruz; in 1591, in Guadalajara; in 1616 and 1623, the schools of Merida and San Luis Potosi, respectively; and in 1625, the schools of Queretero and Guatemala.

Throughout the New World—in Lima, in Cuzco, in Santa Fe de Bogotá, in Santiago de Chile, in Cuba, in Puerto Rico, in Santo Domingo, everywhere Jesuit schools were established with such encouraging results that in order to give the graduates of all these educational centers the advantages that the young men of their time were enjoying in Europe, a number of universities were established in Ibero-America.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Ibero-America possessed no less than eleven Royal and Pontifical Universities under the patronage of the Crown and supported by the State, and sixty-four other institutions of higher learning empowered to grant doctorates in theology, law, and philosophy.

The University of Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, opened its doors in 1573; Cordoba del Tucuman, Chile, in 1613; in La Plata, Argentina, in 1623; the University of Guatemala in 1675; in Cuzco, Peru, in 1692; at Caracas, Venezuela, in 1721; the University of Santiago de Chile in 1728; in Havana, Cuba, in 1782; and finally at Quito, Ecuador, in 1791.

And the thousands of students that attended all these universities had been formed under the guidance of the Jesuit Fathers, who, in the year 1767, had in Ibero-America one hundred and twenty schools.

The brief picture that I have made for you gives an idea of what had been accomplished in the field of education in the New World, and of the important part played by the Society of Jesus.

The sinister forces that were used to weaken the Spanish government in order to destroy the Hispanic Empire were able, in 1767, to secure from King Charles III the order for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New World. No one at that time was able to grasp the significance of the

action, but today, after having learned the true reasons and the true aims and felt the consequences of it, we must say, and say very strongly that the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies of America was a mortal blow to their civilization!

Their schools were closed, their properties were confiscated and in place of the 2,600 Jesuits who were conducting the 120 schools in the Hispanic nations, they placed incompetent and avaricious bureaucrats who had been previously poisoned with what they used to call "the advanced doctrines."

The so-called independence of the Spanish nations of America was completed and today, we have the irrefutable proofs of how, why, and by whom it was done, as well as its sad consequences. During the twentieth century, and in the name of Liberty, we did not have the right to educate our children according to the dictates of our conscience; in the name of Liberty, we were deprived of our schools, of our hospitals, and of our churches; and in the name of Liberty we had no Liberty to revere and adore God the way we saw fit!

You have no idea of the trials, the sorrows, and the sufferings of our people during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The best way in which I can express the real situation of my people is by saying "Cum tacent, clamant."

Fortunately, a reform movement is developing: In Colombia, a true democratic country, the students of a state university, who did not like the philosophy that they were taught, abandoned it and started a Catholic university that is growing rapidly. In Costa Rica, another country where the democratic ideals prevail, the congress has re-established Catholic education in the public schools, thus abiding by the will of the people who are Catholic by a vast majority; and finally, in Mexico, where the government is respecting the will of the people, and the citizens are working strenuously to have Article III of the Constitution, that enforces the so-called socialistic school, removed.

The demands of the present moment of the world, to have an American Continent united for the purpose of the common good; the wisdom of the step taken by His Excellency, the President of the United States, in governing the relations of this country with those to the South, by what is known as "the Good Neighbor Policy," the most happy occurrence of having this country for the first time in history desirous and willing to deal with Ibero-American countries on spiritual values, in which they are by far richer than they are in those that are material; the duty of helping to the limit in this most worthy cause for the sake of true solidarity in the Western Hemisphere; all points directly, in the present emergency, to the responsibility of the greatest educators of all times, the Jesuits!

You have never failed! You have always lived up to the glorious traditions of Ignatius of Loyola, and today, you are going to do your duty as soldiers of Christ, as citizens of North America, and as noble gentlemen!

The command issued by St. Ignatius on the twelfth of January, 1547, has not been canceled. "To Ibero-America send some of our men if they call for them, and if they do not call for them, send them anyway!"

You have left only 36 schools of the 120 that you had at the end of the eighteenth century in Ibero-America. There is a great deal to do and you, who are to such an extent responsible for the higher culture that still prevails, *malgré tout* in those countries, are the ones who can most effectively and efficiently help in the cultural *rapprochement* between the United States and Ibero-America.

Upon instructions of the Very Reverend Father Percy A. Roy, S. J., president of Loyola University of the South, and with his guidance, I have prepared a memorandum for the formation of a Jesuit Institute of Ibero-American Cultural Relations.

Use this as a base, or if you prefer, as a mere idea. Make up your minds, Gentlemen Jesuits and Knights of the Cross, that before parting, you are going to decide in what manner you are going to help in the present emergency. The work is part of the program of national defense, and you will do your duty, I know, as always, with sacrifice and unselfishness.

MEMORANDUM OF THE JESUIT INSTITUTE OF IBERO-AMERICAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

It is proposed that there be established among the Jesuit universities, colleges, and high schools of the United States an organization known as the Jesuit Institute of Ibero-American Cultural Relations.

The purpose of this organization shall be the reciprocal dissemination of Ibero-American and American education through its own universities, colleges, and high schools and those invited to membership in the Ibero-American countries. The principal method of attaining this end shall be the selection and distribution of American students for study in the Ibero-American countries and the selection and distribution of Ibero-American students for study in Jesuit universities, colleges, and high schools of the United States.

Since the two great institutions of Catholicism and democracy are brought closer together than they ordinarily are by the present-day challenge of totalitarianism, it is expected that they both will give consideration jointly to this plan, which is one of mutual defense through Catholic and democratic ideologies, the only practicable common denominator existing among all the nations of the American Continent. The plan submitted is not only Catholic but National; hence it shall be financed through federal as well as Catholic agencies. Ibero-American universities and governments shall not be requested to contribute financially to the movement, at least until such time as certain strong prejudices are removed or softened.

The Institute shall differ from all other educational agencies engaged in

furthering better relations among the Ibero-American countries and the United States as follows:

1. Whereas other agencies bring students to the United States and congregate them in one locality, the Institute, through a widespread system of affiliated universities, colleges, and high schools, shall distribute them to all parts of the country, and additionally, shall move a given student from one locality to another during his schooling period, with required trips scheduled to other regions during vacation in order that he may acquire a comprehensive view of the United States. A similar procedure shall apply to Americans studying in Ibero-America.

2. Students shall not be allowed to live or board in fraternity houses, boarding houses, or centers in which their native language might be spoken. Each shall be compelled to reside with respectable private families, in whose homes only the idiom of the country is employed.

3. Religion—before democracy—among peoples of the same faith, is the only power that completely transcends all human prejudices. Feverish activity of the United States in the present world crisis to win over our Southern neighbors is tacit admission of grave prejudices existing against the United States in the Ibero-American countries, therefore, an exchange of Catholic students, possessing the highest qualities of leadership, is the surest way of overcoming prejudices and building up and cementing a mutual understanding of a permanent and dependable character between the United States and the nations of the Ibero-American, which are predominantly Catholic.

There shall be established in New Orleans, under the supervision of the Governing Board of the Institute, the general offices of the same, through which all arrangements pertaining to the Institute's functions shall be effected. It shall serve as a clearing house for all students, Ibero-Americans and Americans, going to and from all Ibero-American countries and the United States. The general offices building shall accommodate a permanent exposition of the cultural products of the Ibero-American countries as well as a social center.

Annually, there shall be held in New Orleans a convention of student-delegates from Jesuit universities, colleges, and high schools who will send an Ibero-American student to represent them, one to be chosen from each educational center.

An Ibero-American magazine, printed in Spanish, English, and Portuguese, shall be published in connection with the Institute's activities; contributions to be made by students, professors, and alumni, and authorities on Ibero-American subjects.

Short-wave radio programs directed to Ibero-America shall be a regular activity of the Institute's headquarters in New Orleans, in which, incidentally, are located consulates of all twenty Ibero-American countries.

Ibero-American and American students shall be required to send to the Institute annual reports under specified headings relating to their observance of customs, language, literature, religion, politics, etc. Reports shall be bilingual: English and Spanish, or English and Portuguese.

The number of students to be selected and exchanged shall be determined by the Governing Board of the Institute but shall be large enough to reflect tangible results in Ibero-America and the United States in as short a time as possible.

The Institute shall ask for a subsidy that will allow each student an annual scholarship valued at between one thousand and fifteen hundred dollars.

Meeting of Secondary-School Delegates, J. E. A.

Friday, April 18, 2:30 P. M.

"Challenging Problems in Jesuit Secondary Education" was the subject of this meeting, which took the form of a panel discussion by members of the Commission on Secondary Schools: Father J. C. Mulhern, chairman; Father W. S. Bowdern; Father J. A. King; Father F. J. Shalloe. Introductions to the discussion was made by the chairman, "Functions of the Commission," indicating that a form of rotation of membership would be planned so that many viewpoints would make more effective the projects of the Commission. At this meeting, he announced, four five-minute papers would be read and each discussed for fifteen minutes. A general discussion of the papers would follow and the topics selected for study by the Commission during the year would be decided by votes of the delegates.

The first paper, "Utilizing the National Solidarity of Jesuit Education" was read by Father W. S. Bowdern, rector, Campion; and discussion followed by Father Stemper (Campion), Father Keane (Boston), Father Smith (Spring Hill).

The second paper, "Elevating the Scholastic Standards of the Jesuit High School," was read by Father J. A. King, principal, St. Ignatius High School, San Francisco. Discussion followed by Father Clark (New York), Father Colford (Cincinnati), Father McManus (St. Louis), Father Reilly (New York), Father McGucken (St. Louis), Father Brooks (New Orleans), and Mr. Kammer (New Orleans).

The third paper, "The 'Double Objective' of the Jesuit High-School Curriculum," was read by Father F. J. Shalloe, principal, St. Peter's Preparatory, Jersey City; and was discussed by Father Duce (California), Father Maline (West Baden), Father Garner (Washington, D. C.), Father Forster (Oregon), Father O'Neill (Shreveport), Father Barry (Chicago).

The fourth paper, "The Objectives of Extra-Curricular Activities in the Jesuit High School," was read by Father J. C. Mulhern, principal, Jesuit High School, New Orleans. Discussion followed by Father McGucken (St. Louis), Father Smith (Spring Hill), Father Clark (New York), Father Benanti (New Orleans), Mr. McCown (New Orleans).

After the general discussion, it was voted by the delegates that the topic, "The 'Double Objective' of the Jesuit High-School Curriculum"

would be studied by the Commission and a report presented at the next general meeting of the J. E. A.

Sixty-three attended the session. The meeting adjourned at 4:50 P. M.

Outline of paper by Father W. S. Bowdern, "Utilizing the National Solidarity of Jesuit Education":

1. Benefits already obtained:

- a. National prestige.
- b. National strength enabling us to foster or direct educational legislation, in other educational organizations of which we are members, national and regional.
- c. Advantage of JESUIT EDUCATIONAL QUARTERLY.
- d. Advantages derived from our annual national meeting through the exchange of plans, procedures, experiments, of various provinces.

2. Benefits to be obtained:

- a. For our students—Better teaching by self-improvement of teachers; establishing a common bond through some unifying emblem. Jesuit Insignia (Cf. *Woodstock Letters*, 1900).
- b. For ourselves—Make the benefits more specific and practical for each school. Share mutual experiences in the success or failure of certain experiments; *e.g.*, successful methods of student counselling, extra-curricular activities, courses for slower students, evaluation of textbooks, etc.

3. How to share benefits:

- a. Interchange minutes of provincial meetings of principals. Send copy of minutes to every principal in the Assistancy. A principal in one province may find in these minutes the solution to a problem that concerns his school.
- b. Exchange school catalogues.

Excerpts from paper by Father J. A. King, "Elevating the Scholastic Standards of the Jesuit High School":

If we think of education as a commodity which we sell for tuition we must think of it in terms of supply and demand. When all education was private, people could not discriminate. Because the opportunity was rare, the customers' opinion was not too important. There was no competition. But when education is available everywhere at no apparent cost to the customer, or at very nominal cost, competition enters very definitely into the picture. . . . We want our scholastic standards to be so good that Jesuit education will not only remain on the educational market, but will be preferred. . . . You are to decide whether the above problem is so vital that the Commission on Secondary Education should select it for study during the coming year. . . . For purposes of evaluation or stimulation in

secondary education, we have a fairly good instrument in the *Criteria* adopted by the Cooperative Study of Secondary Education. Touching as they do all phases of secondary education, these criteria include techniques for evaluating and stimulating the various elements that constitute scholastic standards, viz., courses, outcomes (or results), teaching staff, teaching procedures. . . .

. . . It may be that other functions are distracting our staffs from what must be considered the primary purpose of our schools, *i. e.*, formal classroom work. Administrators may allow teachers and students to be distracted by this primary purpose by too many activities. We may need to give more attention to academic essentials, and concentrate on helping teachers to teach. That, of course, would result in elevating our academic standards.

Discussion: Two main points were stressed: 1. The need of classroom supervision by principals; 2. Need of great knowledge of the *Ratio* and *Ratio* methods by all Jesuit teachers.

Outline of paper, "The 'Double Objective' of the Jesuit High School Curriculum," by Father F. J. Shalloe:

Meaning: Does not mean double in the sense that some students will enter college and some will terminate education with high school. Does not mean our spiritual objectives in addition to the objectives common to all secondary education. But it is a fact that as an educational organization we have had a traditional curriculum with detailed objectives and courses, and at the same time, we are affected by standards imposed by state boards of education, by requirements of certain specialized institutions, as engineering, technical, and military schools, and finally by the standards of the regional accrediting associations.

The problem therefore is—how can we fulfill our objectives, common to Jesuit education on one hand, and on the other, satisfy the modern demands of our locale.

Possible procedure: 1. Specialists in the *Ratio Studiorum* and Jesuit educational history might draw up an *ideal* curriculum for Jesuit high schools which would be undated and free from any of the changing influences we have mentioned above. 2. A fact-finding committee would chart the standards and laws and other influences now existing which would interfere with the execution of this ideal curriculum. 3. An analysis of modern trends might indicate that we are free to follow, to a greater extent, our traditional objectives.

Discussion: Factors that have forced Jesuit high schools to adopt varied curricula: 1. Many students terminate their education with high school; 2. Local needs—The Jesuit high school is frequently the *only* Catholic high school in a particular locality.

Digest of Father J. C. Mulhern's paper, "The Objectives of Extra-Curricular Activities in the Jesuit High School":

An examination of extra-curricular activities in the light of our objectives seems an important problem. These activities consume much time on the part of students and moderators. They can interfere with school work (*e. g.*, the annual play); may require a considerable outlay of money on part of school and parents. There is a great variety of activities,—from the debating society to model aeroplane clubs. Some are cultural, some are hobbies, some remain static, others deteriorate. There is an educational trend toward providing experiences in all these fields for all pupils. What is our view of this? The Cooperative Study proposes the following questions with regard to extra-curricular activities: In what respect has the program been improved during the past two years? What improvements are planned for the future? What studies of the problem in this field has the school made or is now making?

This study would involve examination of the activities in all schools, their objectives, membership, results, age, influence, etc.

Discussion: Necessary to control the number of these activities. The Administration should justify each one before approval. The Commission should draw up a program of extra-curricular activities that should be common to all our schools. Participation by individual students should be directed and controlled.

At the general discussion of the assigned papers the delegates voted that the topic, "The 'Double Objective' of the Jesuit High-School Curriculum" should be studied during the year by the Commission and a report be presented at the next annual meeting.

At the request of the Executive Committee the executive director of the J. E. A. transmitted to the Commission on Secondary Education two problems for study: 1. Defining the scope of religion courses in high schools; 2. Possibility of an Assistancy project in the preparation of textbooks, especially in religion, sociology, history, etc.

Meeting of University and College Delegates

The meeting convened at 7:30 P. M. with sixty-five in attendance. "The Challenging Problems in Jesuit Liberal Arts College" was the subject of the panel discussion by the Commission on Liberal Arts Colleges of the J. E. A. The members of the Commission are Father W. M. Mallon, chairman; Father P. A. Roy; Father J. R. M. Maxwell; Father W. C. Gianera; Father A. P. Farrell.

The first paper, "The Distinctive Objectives of Jesuit Liberal Education," was presented by Father P. A. Roy, president, Loyola University (New Orleans), and was discussed by Father Keegan (Marquette), Father Dumas (Fordham), Father Wise (Georgetown).

The second discussion, "The Inroads of Professional Schools in Jesuit Liberal Education," was opened by Father W. C. Gianera, dean, Santa Clara, and participants were Father Poetker (Detroit), Father Smith (Spring Hill).

"The Distinctive Teaching Procedures in Jesuit Liberal Education" was discussed by Father A. P. Farrell, dean, Milford; Father Benson (Cincinnati) and Father Mallon participated.

The final paper was read by Father W. M. Mallon, dean, St. Louis, on "The Evaluation of Jesuit Liberal Education." Discussion followed by Father Keegan (Marquette), Father Barker (New Orleans), Father Fitzgibbons (Creighton), Father Hamilton (Marquette).

"The Distinctive Objectives of Jesuit Liberal Education," by Father P. A. Roy.

(Summary) These objectives are: 1. Catholicism, in knowledge and practice; 2. Development of reasoning ability; 3. Power of expression—forceful, attractive, with a basis in literature and knowledge of social problems of the day; 4. Personal interest on part of teachers in the individual student that he may develop religiously, intellectually, and in social leadership.

Discussion: It was questioned whether the position of Student Counsellor did not interfere with the personal interest of the individual teacher in the students. The variety of courses and classes prevents the individual teacher from knowing the students intimately. It was objected that "personal interest in the student" is a method rather than an objective. Self-activity and responsibility on the part of the student was proposed as a preferable objective.

"The Inroads of Professional Schools in Jesuit Liberal Education," by Father W. C. Gianera.

(Outline) 1. Pre-professional courses which affect the *content* of courses in liberal arts colleges, pre-medical, pre-dental, pre-law, pre-engineering; preparatory courses for teacher-training; 2. Danger of academic counselling becoming too elaborate and involved; 3. Effect of professional training of teachers on the *method* of instruction in undergraduate teaching. This occurs when teachers use graduate methods in college teaching and when staff-members are professional men, *e.g.*, lawyers, engineers, etc.

Discussion: At present the definite tendency on part of professional schools is towards a more liberal education in pre-professional undergraduate preparation. If we have allowed the pre-professional curricula to become too specialized, we are at fault and the situation should be corrected. On the other hand, it was stated that medical schools, *de facto*, demand a maximum of science for entrance. It was emphasized that graduate study for teachers is essential to the progress of our schools; is demanded by the *Instructio*; and that a teacher with common sense will be immensely helped, not hindered in his teaching by graduate training in his subject.

"The Distinctive Teaching Procedures in Jesuit Liberal Education," by Father A. P. Farrell.

(Outline) Self-activity on part of student is the most important principle in Jesuit education. This self-activity is attained by two fundamental procedures in Jesuit teaching: 1. Prelection, 2. Repetition. The *prelection* is the opposite of lecturing. It is a procedure—an instrument in the hands of the teacher to stimulate the immanent activity of the student. The teacher is a "coach," who shows the student how to study, how to master. The teacher stimulates the reasoning, imagining powers of the student. *Repetition* is not repeating what the teacher presented in class, but requires that students should contribute to the assignment through their own study. These are the two traditional and definite classroom procedures in Jesuit education. To be used effectively, it is necessary to know the objectives of the particular subject-matter and of the particular course.

Discussion: It was objected that lectures are sometimes necessary. The amount of time is too short to cover the subject-matter. Answer: By delaying on the prelection, much time is saved in the recitation in the following class. A request was made for a description, in printed form, of these essential procedures of Jesuit teaching.

The final paper on "The Evaluation of Jesuit Liberal Education" was presented by Father W. M. Mallon. It enumerated the possible, tangible methods by which we may evaluate the quality of our teaching. Among

them are the various national testing methods, American Council Psychological Examination, Cooperative English Tests, Medical Aptitude Tests, etc. The paper described the ratings of Jesuit schools in these national tests and gave a lengthy analysis of the statistics. The discussion was so interesting and pertinent that it was voted by the delegates that the problem of evaluating our liberal education should be the subject of the year's study of the Commission. The facts and analyses of Father Mallon's paper will be included in the general report of the Commission submitted next year. The meeting adjourned at 9:30 P. M.

Why the Society of Jesus Became A Teaching Order*

PEDRO LETURIA, S. J.

"Teaching" is to be understood in its strict sense. That is to say, we speak of an order that teaches not only Christian doctrine in catechetical classes and the pulpit, but also the humanities and the sacred sciences in colleges and public universities.

Taken in the former meaning, the theme of this paper would be superfluous. Catechesis and the preaching of the word of God clearly pertained to the original outline of the apostolate as designed by St. Ignatius and his first companions, from the very first steps they made in the founding of the Society.¹ Catechetical instruction and preaching, then, were purposes that were born *with* the order, or rather born *before* it. Can the same be said of public instruction in the humanities and sacred sciences?

We must remember above all, that the founders of the Society all came, without exception, from university environment, and that they did not proceed to the discussion and execution of their plan until they had all obtained a Master of Arts degree and had made some progress in theology. "Theologians of Paris" is the first title by which they were introduced to Pope Paul III on their arrival at Rome in 1537.² Besides, the program of ecclesiastical reform that they proposed—that is, the rules "Ad sentiendum cum Ecclesia" in the Exercises of St. Ignatius—already

* This article appears in the special anniversary number of the *Gregorianum* (Vol. XXI, Fasc. III et IV, 1940), dedicated to the Society on its Quadricentenary. The careful and scholarly study of the origins of the educational work of the Society is so significant and informative that we are glad to reprint it for readers of the QUARTERLY.

Father Pedro Leturia, S. J., is dean of the faculty of Church history, Gregorian University, and editor of *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu*. His latest book is a study of St. Ignatius, *El gentilhombre Iñigo López de Loyola en su patria y en su siglo* (Montevideo, 1938). Father Leturia's article was translated from the Italian by Mr. Victor R. Yanitelli, S. J., at present in graduate studies in romance languages at Fordham University.

¹ It was already decided in the "Deliberations" of May 1539 "quod docendi erunt pueri vel alii quicumque ipsa mandata." Cf. *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu* (MHSI), *Constitutiones*, I, p. 10; C. GOMEZ RODELES, S. J., *La Compañía de Jesús catequista* (Madrid, 1913), ch. 1.

² Cf. SIMON RODRIGUES, *Commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis Iesu*, in the MHSI, *Epistolae* . . . P. Roderici, p. 486: "Ortiz adit Summum Pontificem Paulum III, significatque novem theologos parisienses" etc.

showed at that early date a strong preoccupation with the teaching of theology, for not to mention the rules on the manner of speaking of grace, of faith, of predestination, and of free will,³ the series contains a very penetrating rule touching the meaning and value of the then "nascent" positive theology as compared with theology that was properly Scholastic.⁴

When men thus prepared first placed themselves (between November 18 and 23, 1538) at the disposition of Pope Paul III to work in any land and in whatever ministry he might entrust to them,⁵ it would obviously have been impossible that they should not have been equally disposed to teach their own special and personally mastered subjects, the sacred sciences.

As a matter of fact, even before that date the first trial made of them by the wise Farnese Pope in 1537 consisted in their holding scholastic disputations while he was at table;⁶ whereas the first undertaking he imposed on Faber and Lainez was none other than the teaching of positive and scholastic theology at the "Sapienza" in Rome.⁷ Faber lectured on a book of Holy Scripture; while Lainez commented on the tract "De Canone Missae" of Gabriel Biel.⁸ There is no doubt, then, that, at least in a potential and virtual way, the Society was *born*, and did not *become*, a teaching order, even in the strict sense of the word.

I said "at least in a potential and virtual way" purposely, for if one follows the development of events in the first decade of the Society's existence, it is easy to discover the most interesting phenomenon. The teaching of Faber and Lainez is brief; after it, this form of ministry disappears from among the works of the sons of St. Ignatius for several years; or rather it is resumed but slowly and in circumstances that give

³ Rules 15-17. Cf. MHSI, *Esercitia* . . ., pp. 558-560.

⁴ I have tried to explain the meaning behind this rule in my article, *De Constitutionibus Collegiorum P. Ioannis A. de Polanco*, "Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu" (AHSI), 7 (1938), pp. 19-22.

⁵ The act took place after favorable sentence had been passed on the masters of Paris on November 18, 1538, as Faber tells us. Cf. MHSI, *Fabri Mon.*, p. 498. On the other hand, we know that it had already taken place before the 23rd of the same month, as Faber himself records in a notice to Gouvea. Cf. MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, I, p. 132.

⁶ Cf. P. TACCHI VENTURI, S. J., *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, II (Rome, 1922), pp. 92-93.

⁷ "Los dos comenzaron luego a leer gratis en la escuela de la Sapiencia, el uno *teologia positiva* y el otro *scholastica*, y esto por mandado del Papa." St. Ignatius to Roser, December 19, 1538. MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, I, p. 138.

⁸ Salmeron is our witness that Lainez lectured on the "*De Canone Missae Gabrielis Biel*." Cf. MHSI, *Ep. Salmeronis*, II, p. 753. It is, however, quite well known that the tract was in large part composed by Egelindo Becker of Braunsweig, Biel's friend. Cf. P. ANATRIELLO, *La dottrina di Gabriele sull'Eucaristia* (Milan, 1936), pp. 7-8. The sources do not tell us what part of the Bible Faber used for exegesis. It is, however, interesting to note that St. Ignatius calls the teaching of Holy Scripture as done by Faber, *positive theology*; probably because the master gave him the moral instruction to "mover los afectos para en todo amar y servir a Dios Nuestro Señor," which is characteristic of St. Ignatius' concept of positive theology. Cf. my article already cited, AHSI, 7 (1938), pp. 19-20.

evidence of the groping peculiar to men who are picking their way along new paths.⁹

It is this fact to which reference is made in the title of this article: how and why the Society of Jesus, which from 1540 to 1547 neither proposed nor set on foot any program of public instruction, whether in philosophy, theology, or letters, finally determined on such a program and carried it out magnificently, under the wise direction of its Founder, from 1547 onward.

We propose to examine this question in the field of *humanities*; a theme, which, albeit more restricted, still remains peculiar in the history of the religious orders. For, in truth, the novelty was not that religious should teach scholastic philosophy and theology, but that they should found colleges of humane letters and dedicate themselves with apostolic zeal and thoroughness to the teaching of them.¹⁰

The sources of this research have already been published in the collection *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu*. Of the modern expositions of the argument, we refer principally to those of Herman, Farrell, Olmedo, Barbera, and Schröteler.¹¹

I. THE STUDIES OF ST. IGNATIUS

St. Ignatius Loyola seemed to be the man least fitted to give movement to a current of humanistic pedagogy. His forbears were chiefly men of arms; the institutions and customs of the Casa-Torre of his childhood were predominantly patriarchal and rural; his temperament was that of a man of action.¹²

The fact is that Ignatius brusquely turned his back on education at the very threshold of manhood. His father, Don Beltran, apparently had at first destined him for the Church. This would mean a serious study of Latin, for at that time the influence of Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros and Queen Isabella the Catholic had all but eliminated in Spain the scandalous condition of clerics who could hardly read the missal and the breviary.

⁹ Cf. J. B. HERMAN, S. J., *La Pédagogie des Jésuites au XVI^e siècle* (Louvain, 1914), pp. 3 ff., who rightly refutes the thesis of Stökius who included colleges for externs in the first apostolic program of Loyola.

¹⁰ We are speaking of the great Orders. On the teaching of the "Brothers of the Common Life," in Flanders and Germany, cf. HERMAN, *ibid.*, p. 99; on the teaching of the Barnabites and the Somaschi, cf. MHSI, *Constitutiones*, II, p. CXLII.

¹¹ On HERMAN, cf. note 9. A. P. FARRELL, S. J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education* (Milwaukee, 1938). F. G. OLMEDO, S. J., *Juan Bonifacio 1538-1606 y la cultura literaria del siglo de oro* (Santander, 1938). MARIO BARBERA, S. J., the *Ratio Studiorum* articles published in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1939, I, pp. 428-436; II, pp. 135-145; III, pp. 405-413; IV, pp. 163-171; 1940, II, pp. 116-122, 362-369, etc. J. SCHRÖTELER, S. J., *Die Erziehung in der Jesuiten Internaten des XVI. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg i. B., 1940).

¹² I have illustrated these traits in the book, *El gentilhomme Iñigo López de Loyola en su patria y en su siglo* (Montevideo, 1938), ch. 1 and 2.

There is preserved a precise regulation of the same Don Beltran de Loyola, dated 1506, wherein by virtue of his office as patron-protector of the parish of Azpeitia he prohibits anyone from being presented for priestly ordination before completing at least four years of *studium generale*—that is, university study—in such fashion that he be a skilled grammarian and a good cantor.¹³ In order to achieve this result successfully in the “priest in germ” whom he had already discovered in his favorite Inigo, Don Beltran engaged a tutor for the Casa-Torre of Loyola, as Father Nadal informs us.¹⁴

But both the father and the tutor must have been convinced at an early date that this program could not be carried out either by fair means or foul. The boy learned how to write very well and liked music. He sang popular songs with gusto and derived great joy from listening to musical tunes, a trait he retained even in his old age.¹⁵ But of “the skilled grammarian” he never even dreamed!

Don Beltran was forced to “disqualify,” no less, the one who would some day be the founder of Jesuit pedagogy, and send him to Arevalo to his friend Velasquez de Cuella, that he might take up the practice of arms in accordance with the gentleman’s custom of the time. The whole intellectual patrimony of the blond and lively youth (for modern ideas to the contrary notwithstanding, Ignatius’ complexion tended slightly towards the fair)¹⁶ was reduced, and it is Polanco himself who says so, to reading and writing.¹⁷

The new career was in sharp contrast to the methodical study of grammar and the sciences, but not to the study of romance literature. In the court of Ferdinand the Catholic the practice of arms and fencing alternated with literature and even with the composition of little verses, in the manner of the Marquis de Santillana or the sweet troubadour of Queen Isabella, Fra Ambrogio Montesino. We know that young Loyola endeavored to compose his own prayers to our Lady; that, Friday and Saturday excepted, he delighted to play the various instruments of the day; and finally that he wrote a poem to his protector, St. Peter, which is mentioned by his secretary Polanco in the latter’s Latin life of Ignatius.¹⁸ All this, and the reading

¹³ The proof, *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁴ “Pueritiam domi exegit sub parentum ac *paedagogi* cura.” *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁵ “O com que muito se alevantava em oração era a musica e canto das cousas divinas, como são vesporas, missas e outras semelhantes . . . E não somente lhe fazia isto bem a alma, mas aynda a saude corporal: e assy quando a nao tinha, ou stava com grande fastio, con nenhuma cousa se lhe tirava mays, che com ouuir cantar alguma cousa devota a qualquer yrmão.” Gonzalves da Camara. Cf. *MHSI, Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, p. 242. Cf. also p. 418.

¹⁶ “Comparare semper solitus sum (colorem Ignatii) grano tritici pulchre et bene colorato.” This is the testimony of an eye-witness, P. Oliverius Manareus, *MHSI, Scripta de S. Ign.*, II, pp. 490-491.

¹⁷ Cf. *El gentilhombre* . . . pp. 37-39, 54.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-70.

of Amadis, where verse was also to be found, enchanted the youth. Here was the sweet liberation common to prehumanist chivalry, which turned its back on the classrooms of the Scholastics.

For this very reason it is clear that one of the most heroic acts in all the heroic life of Ignatius was his return, at the age of thirty-four, to the abhorred Latin grammar of his boyhood. He learned to stand in the midst of the restless schoolboys of the Latin classes at the University of Barcelona,¹⁹ where he begged his good master, Girolamo Ardevol,²⁰ to use on him—the hero of Pamplona, once an aspirant for the hand of an Infanta of Spain—the classic whip common in that and all other contemporary schools of Europe,²¹ whenever he should fail to prepare the day's lesson.

The reasons that brought the hero of Pamplona to so startling a *volte-face* are well known in the history of the Church. He already dreamt of being an apostle of Christ; to be that, he had to become a priest; to be ordained he had to study Latin and the liberal arts. And so he settled to his new work, kindled and strengthened by divine grace; the "ram" of the Ignatian will, strong and tenacious as it had been in the service of his temporal king, when it had set itself to defend Navarre, was now as strong and stubborn in the service of the King Eternal.

It must be noted that he is not drawn by any directly pedagogical motives; nor does he discuss school methods and curricula. He goes from Barcelona to Alcala because he is told that he is quite ready for philosophy.²² He leaves Alcala for Salamanca because in Alcala his apostolic labors are impeded. Then he goes to Paris, abandoning Salamanca, because the magistrates of that town forbid him to teach the difference between mortal and venial sin before he has had a course in theology.²³ Obviously there is no problem of Hellenism here! And yet, all that Ignatius experiences in himself through these long years of study (1524-1535) is branded upon his memory, and will one day be the object of the reflections and comparisons which will help him formulate his own program of education.

¹⁹ J. CREIXELL, *S. Ignacio de Loyola*, I (Barcelona, 1922), pp. 246-247, has clearly proved that St. Ignatius' school of grammar was part of the University; and it will be more abundantly clear in a forthcoming article in the AHSI by FATHER C. DELMASES.

²⁰ On this good "Bachelor" of Arts, cf. CREIXELL, *ibid.*, pp. 242 ff.

²¹ On the use of the whip in schools of the time, cf. OLMEDO, *op. cit.*, p. 64; on the feast of the "Virgidemia" in Germany on which the boys themselves went through the woods gathering the instruments for their own dreaded punishment, cf. JANNSEN, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, I (Freiburg i. B.), pp. 89-90.

²² In the University of Barcelona, erected towards the middle of the fifteenth century, there were likewise chairs of philosophy, but of little consequence. Cf. VIC. LAFUENTE, *Historia de las Universidades españolas*, II (Madrid, 1884), pp. 197-198. This is the reason why the Saint did not study philosophy in the city he liked so well.

²³ HERMAN justly observes, *op. cit.*, p. 59, that the difficulties thrown in the path of his apostolate, and not the imperfections of the courses there, were what ultimately decided Ignatius to leave the Spanish university.

With this in view, we can gather some of his later observations on the studies of Spain and Paris, observations that are important to anyone who would understand the plan of our colleges from 1548 onwards.

II. OBSERVATIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS ON STUDIES IN SPAIN AND PARIS

The first observation refers to the high esteem which he and his collaborators, Nadal and Polanco, conceived of the renovating effort made by the humanistic studies in Spain at the time. This esteem was so great in Ignatius that, because of it, he thought it difficult, in 1551, to found Jesuit colleges for extern students in places such as Alcala, Valencia, and Coimbra,²⁴ where the greatest developments on the whole peninsula were being made in literary and theological culture. And his secretary Polanco notes that the "rules concerning studies," shortly afterwards forwarded to Salamanca, were very serviceable for uniting virtue to letters, though this was not due so much to the studies themselves, since—he adds—there were many excellent masters in all subjects occupying the various chairs of the University.²⁵ No doubt it was from this high esteem too, that, when it came time to write the statutes for the colleges of the order, the General and his secretary also consulted those of the great Spanish universities mentioned above.²⁶

Indeed, the Spain of Charles V and Philip II was in the throes of a humanistic fever.²⁷ The new universities, as Alcala and Valencia, as well as the old, like Salamanca and Lerida, all were reorganizing or founding chairs of Latin, Greek, poetry, and eloquence in their faculties of the arts.²⁸ The satisfaction of having a good school of grammar and rhetoric was also the ambition of every little town that thought itself "pretty good."²⁹ At

²⁴ Cf. the letter of December 1, 1551. MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, IV, p. 18; cf. also below note 73.

²⁵ MHSI, *Chron.*, II, p. 617. Cf. also HERMAN, p. 59, though this excellent author changes the color of his expression a little.

²⁶ MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, II, p. 550, letter of October 5, 1549.

²⁷ For want of a scientific history of the humanistic education in Spain, we must be content with scattered details in the work of BONILLA SAN MARTIN, BATAILLON, OLMEDO, MAURIZIO IRIARTE. For orientation, cf. CARRILLO GUERRERO, *La Enseñanza en el siglo XVI* (Burgos, 1939).

²⁸ Alcalá is outstanding for its brilliant list of humanist professors: Alonso de Herrera, Lebrija, Juan Ramírez of Toledo, and Alfonso G. Matamoros. Cf. M. BATAILLON, *Erasmé et l'Espagne* (Paris, 1937), pp. 15-16, 169-171. But the University of Valencia also had a fine humanistic tradition. It is sufficient to recall the works written there by the professors: *Francesco Decio*, "Oratio de Scientiarum et academiae Valentinae laudibus" (1539); *Pedro Juan Nuñez*, "Institutiones oratoriae" (1552); *Lorenzo Palmireno*, "Rhetoricae prolegomena" (1567), "De arte dicendi" (1573), "Campi eloquentiae" (1574).

²⁹ The little Basque town of *Vitoria* may be adduced as an example (the home town of P. Olave, first prefect general of studies in the Roman College), whose humanistic school has been treated in MALAXECHEVARRIA, S. J., *Martin de Olave, estudio historico* (Rome, 1940), pp. 39-40. Another proof is found in the colleges that were already in existence in those Spanish towns where the Jesuits erected their own colleges between 1550 and 1570. Cf. OLMEDO, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, 52-53, 55-56, 59, 78-79, etc.

the close of the century, Fernandez Navarrete calculated that there were no less than four thousand students of grammar in thirty-two universities on the Peninsula.³⁰

This explains the type of teacher of literature so prevalent at the time. Some traveled from place to place like Mossen Antonio Seron, who, after having studied letters at the University of Valentina, taught them at Tuy in Andalusia, in Alcala, at Lerida, and finally in Calatayud, his home province;³¹ others were more stable, like the renowned teachers in the University of Valencia, Pedro Juan Nunez of Valencia and Lorenzo Palmireno of Aragon, who by their teaching and their treatises made that university one of the foremost classical centers of the kingdom.³²

Along with numbers, there emerged gradually, from 1500 to 1550, the reform of teaching methods according to the spirit of Lebrija, Erasmus, Nunez, and Vives.³³ Even the first master of Vives, Girolamo Amiguet, whom the humanist never forgave for forcing him to speak against the new movement of Lebrija, had been "converted" as early as 1514, when he published at Barcelona an introduction to the "Art" of his Andalusian master.³⁴ And there is no doubt that this same spirit ruled in the classrooms frequented by Ignatius at Barcelona; in fact a supplement containing the notes of the humanist grammar of Lebrija is attributed to Ignatius' master Ardevol;³⁵ and it was in Barcelona that they advised him to read the *Enchiridion militis Christiani* of Erasmus if he would learn the Latin language well.³⁶

Notwithstanding the defects of an era seething in transition, and certain definite failures and regressions that are obviously conspicuous in a detailed history,³⁷ it is evident that on this point Spain could compare well with Italy herself until the middle of the century. The origins of Ignatian colleges in Spain and in Portugal prove this. Their first great masters, men who drew up the rules for the other provinces of the order, even in Italy and in France; men like Manuel Alvarez, Cyprien Soarez, Pedro Perpina,

³⁰ FERNANDEZ NAVARRETE, *Conservación de monarquías y discursos políticos* (1600), cited by VIC. LAFUENTE, *Historia de las Universidades españolas*, II, p. 448.

³¹ LAFUENTE, *ibid.*, p. 451.

³² On the former, cf. OLMEDO, *op. cit.*, p. 44; on the latter, LAFUENTE, *ibid.*, p. 452.

³³ We may mark the various stages of the humanistic reform by following the story of the adoption of Lebrija's Grammar as a University text. Cf. BONILLA SAN MARTIN, *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento*, I (Madrid, 1929), pp. 32-33; T. BRAGA, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, I (Lisboa, 1895), pp. 400 ff.

³⁴ Cf. BONILLA SAN MARTIN, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 31-32; III, p. 14, note 40.

³⁵ CREIXELL, *op. cit.*, I, p. 242.

³⁶ Cf. RIBADENEIRA, *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*, bk. I, ch. 13; POLANCO, *MHSI, Chron.*, p. 33.

³⁷ Cf. for example the criticism of Juan Olivar in 1528, and those of Harlem and Alvarado in 1579 as given in BONILLA SAN MARTIN, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 33-34; OLMEDO, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Juan Bonifacio, all were formed, before they became Jesuits, in the universities and colleges of the Iberian Peninsula.³⁸

That swelling tide of humanism, however, carried with it in Spain, as it did more or less in Italy, a certain turbulent disorder that was entirely peculiar to the very exuberance of its own life.³⁹ Ignatius reflected on it in Paris at the time when he compared the methods of the colleges of Montaigu and Sainte-Barbe with those he had seen in his native land.

It is clear that he laid the blame for those miserable bits of Latin he had picked up at Barcelona and in Alcala chiefly on himself. Too often had he applied himself to disparate disciplines, and above all he had not known how to set limits to his impulse for assisting souls while engaged in studies—a tactical error that he later wanted his sons to avoid at any cost.⁴⁰ He was convinced, however, that even the teaching methods were partially responsible, because "the order and method of Paris" (as he terms it in his autobiography) of themselves excluded any hodge-podge of method; and they obliged him to confine and grade his courses, taking them from definite faculties, and beginning all over again those subjects that constituted the foundations of the humanities.⁴¹ This appealed to his genius for the practical. Even while he was a student he regarded the "system of Paris" as the best in Christendom, and he assures his brother Don Martin that the latter's son, Millan, would have made more progress in four years at Paris, thanks to the method there, than in six years at any other university.⁴²

His preference certainly was not based on sureness of doctrine in theology or letters (Paris was not then the equal of Spain for theology, and as for letters, Spain could not stand comparison with Italy and France), but on the unity and utility of Parisian methods of teaching and education. At Paris, in fact, as Quicherat (to prescind from Jesuit sources) proves of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, the aim of teaching was the practical and progressive advantage of the pupil, rather than the brilliant lecture of the master.

Thus promotion and attendance at the different courses was regulated according to the profit of the individual pupil; he was subjected to a whole series of graded readings, compositions, and disputations, which continued from the moment of his admission up until the time of his final examina-

³⁸ It is unfortunate that FARRELL did not prefix to his excellent book *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, pp. 109 ff., a chapter on the Condition of Secondary Education in Spain as he did for Italy, pp. 92 ff.

³⁹ This disorder was already observed by VELASCO Y SANTOS in his *Reseña histórica de la Universidad de Valencia* (Valencia, 1868), pp. 66-67.

⁴⁰ Cf. MHSI, *Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, pp. 81, 86, 385, n. 92-93.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81, n. 73: "estudiava con los niños. pasando por la orden y manera de Paris."

⁴² Letter of June 1532, MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, I, p. 78.

tion; and the personal direction of the master, which demanded great sacrifice, had the advantage of a unity of instruction that was lacking elsewhere.⁴³

This method fascinated and satisfied the genius of Polanco and Nadal, his two foremost collaborators in the ordering of the program of studies—men who had also been formed at Paris. They were to be confirmed in their opinion a year or so later when they saw close at hand the soft and overly individualistic methods of the Italian colleges and academies. As early as 1542 Polanco underlined this character with reference to the University of Padua;⁴⁴ Nadal repeated it expressly in his rules for the College of Messina,⁴⁵ and St. Ignatius was persuaded that by means of the "Parisian method" the "Estudios" of Spain, Portugal, and Italy would have obtained better and more widespread results. He so declares several times in his letters.⁴⁶ But one observation must be kept in mind. The University of Paris, to which this method was peculiar, had not yet assumed in those decades (as the brilliant work of Father Garcia Villoslada, S. J., has proved)⁴⁷ that strictly French stamp which it acquired in later centuries to the detriment of its cosmopolitanism. This observation applies especially to the College of Sainte-Barbe which made use of the method just pointed out, and which may be considered under certain aspects to be the cradle of Jesuit pedagogy.

The College of Sainte-Barbe was a Portuguese foundation while Loyola was a student.⁴⁸ The generous burses of its students were paid by the King of Portugal with gold from the Indies;⁴⁹ its intellectual and disciplinary direction was in the hands of the very learned and just Diego de Gouvea;⁵⁰ its new pedagogical direction was due principally to his cousin, the finished humanist, Andrea de Gouvea, who became shortly afterwards the founder

⁴³ J. QUICHERAT, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe: Collèges, Communautés, Institutions* (Paris, 1860), p. 231. Jesuit authors, making use of Jesuit sources in addition, have described the "modus parisiensis" in *Humane Letters*, in a very similar manner. Cf. HERMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff.; FARRELL, *op. cit.*, p. 30; BARBERA, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1939, III, pp. 405 ff.

⁴⁴ "Es un modo de leer el de esta tierra (Padova) para quien en toda la vida no tuviere otro en qué entender." Letter to Lainez of May 18, 1542. MHSI, *Pol. Complém.*, I, p. 3.

⁴⁵ MHSI, *Mon. Paed.*, pp. 615-616.

⁴⁶ MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, IV, p. 102; V, p. 13.

⁴⁷ R. GARCIA VILLOSLADA, S. J., *La Universidad de París durante los estudios de Francisco de Vitoria* (Rome, 1938), *passim*, v. gr., pp. 372-421.

⁴⁸ QUICHERAT, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-128, shows how the change from the French to the Portuguese period took place about 1516.

⁴⁹ Cf. TH. BRAGA, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 345-346.

⁵⁰ The liberal TH. BRAGA (*ibid.*, p. 484) calls him reluctantly "The hammer of the heretics." P. Faber wrote to him, in fact, on November 23, 1538: "tanto nixu satagite deinceps exemplo vivendi docere populum christianum quanto hactenus laborastis pro fidei doctrinaeque ecclesiasticae defensione." MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, I, p. 133.

of the famous college of classical letters at Guyenne in Bordeaux and also of the new faculty of arts in Coimbra.⁵¹ There Savoyard students like Faber; Castilians and Navarrese, as Lainez and Xavier; and Spanish professors of great repute, such as Doctor Juan de Pena, the immediate director of St. Ignatius' studies, the beloved master of Francis Xavier and Peter Faber, all lived together with the Portuguese in amicable fraternity.⁵²

That is why no one will ever be able to explain the origins of the Jesuit order and of its system of teaching who is not mindful of the part played by the noble Christian kingdom of Portugal. One of its glorious sons, Diego de Gouvea, was the first to suggest inviting the Society of Jesus to the Indies; in his College of Sainte-Barbe the first seeds of the *Ratio Studiorum* were made fruitful; its great king John III⁵³ was the first and greatest of the new-born company's protectors.

III. ST. IGNATIUS' IDEAL OF HUMANISM TOWARDS 1547

We must avoid the error, or rather the mirage, of imagining an Ignatius at Paris who mulls over pedagogical plans and dreams of founding colleges. These reflections so far, are derived from those that Ignatius himself experienced when he was already General at Rome, or at best from casual replies given at Paris, as the one referring to his nephew Millan de Loyola.

The fact is that neither then, nor at the beginning of his generalate of the Society, did he harbor the least idea of a system of teaching the humanities.⁵⁴ And it is exactly this fact that makes the historian want to discover the secret passage through which such a plan was born.

The point of departure was the need he soon felt for assigning fixed rules of education to the young candidates of the order. In the beginning, the founding fathers preferred to receive into the Society men who were already trained, men who would come to give rather than to receive, more to work than to be formed.⁵⁵ There was no lack of this type of conquest; it is enough to mention the names of Pietro Codazzio for Italy; of Domenecq, Nadal, Polanco, and Olave for Spain; of Cornelius Wischaven and Peter Canisius for Flanders and Germany. But experience soon taught them (Ignatius himself tells us) that mature and learned men either found

⁵¹ Cf. on this point QUICHERAT, *op. cit.*, pp. 503 ff.; BRAGA, I, pp. 336 ff., 375 ff.; F. RODRIGUES, S. J., *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Assistencia de Portugal*, 1/2 (Porto, 1931), pp. 336 ff., who rightly corrects some of Braga's "liberal" opinions.

⁵² MHSI, *Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, p. 85; *Fabri Mon.*, p. 493. On Peña, cf. VILLOSLADA, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-394, 412-413.

⁵³ On this king, cf. PIMENTA, *D. João III* (Porto, 1936).

⁵⁴ Cf. F. TOURNIER, S. J., *Monseigneur Guillaume de Prat au Concile de Trente*, "Etudes," 98 (1904), pp. 474-476.

⁵⁵ Cf. MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, pp. 50-51; II, pp. 169-170.

themselves engaged in other enterprises they could not leave, or were looking for rest rather than the labor of a difficult novitiate.⁵⁶

They began to receive young men "of good character and promise," as they were then described—which does not mean "nice boys" at all! The first of these boys, on whom Ignatius showered his affection as educator and master, was a little rascal from Toledo, the page of Cardinal Farnese, who peeped into the house of his fellow countryman Inigo while fleeing from a caning that awaited him at the palace in punishment for the pranks he had played that day: Pedro Ribadeneira.⁵⁷

Once the spiritual formation of these generous youths had been completed in the exercises and in the novitiate, their literary formation required attention. Since they were marked by vocation for the priesthood and the science of theology, clearly their education had to begin with Latin and with literature.

But here two possible courses were open to the General of the Society. One, which we may call the medieval, aspired to a clear, intellectual, and inelegant Latin which might serve for the rapid rise to dialectic and thence to scholastic philosophy. The other, the humanistic course, without losing sight of the sacred science which Lebrija, Vives, and Erasmus himself regarded as an ultimate goal,⁵⁸ made serious effort to master the language and the literature of Vergil and Cicero, laid stress upon classical and New Testament Greek, and permitted no advancement to higher classes until the knowledge of these languages had been proved in practice by their use in competitions of poetry and eloquence, to the end that the powers of the mind might be strengthened, broadened, and developed on the style of the Greco-Roman classics, and of the holy Fathers who christianized them.

St. Ignatius' talent for action and organization (and here is the result of the humanistic air he had breathed in the universities of Spain and Paris) did not hesitate a moment; he charged and obliged superiors and students to follow the humanistic way,⁵⁹ without hurry, without shortcuts

⁵⁶ "Y porque buenos y letrados se hallan pocos . . . y de los pocos los más quieren ya reposar de sus trabajos pasados . . . nos paraciò a todos . . . que tomasemos otra via, es a saber de Colegios." MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, pp. 50-51. This decision was made in 1539. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. ccv, 19.

⁵⁷ Cf. the relation of the same Ribadeneira, MHSI, *Ribad.*, I, pp. 7 ff.

⁵⁸ "Litteras amas. Recte, si propter Christum"; wrote ERASMUS in his *Enchiridion militis christiani* (ed. Basle, 1519, p. 45). Cf. also BATAILLON, *op cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁹ "Quanto a las letras, a una mano quiere (el P. Ignacio) que todos se funden bien en la gramatica y letras de Humanidad, en especial si ayuda la edad y la inclinacion. Después ningún género de doctrina aprobada desecha, ni poesía, ni retórica, ni lógica, ni filosofía natural, ni moral, ni metafísica, ni matemática." Thus Polanco, MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, III, p. 502. Cf. also VIII, p. 618; *Constitutiones*, I, p. 177; *Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, pp. 448, 262, 281.

or confusion of courses, and even without any care for theology and its attractions.

In proof of this, among many others, there is a letter which throws into brilliant relief Loyola's idea in the matter. It refers especially to Ribadeneira, and contains an element of the dramatic, because it is written in a polemic tone to the greatest theologian of the order and a luminary of the Council of Trent, James Lainez.⁶⁰

In May of 1547 Lainez was at Bologna, whither the Council had transferred. He wrote to Ignatius from that place on the propriety of taking Ribadeneira out of the classical studies in which he had already long been engaged at Padua. He had now mastered them, "and," he added, "to feed oneself too much on the classics usually results in such sharpening and refining of the wits that they cannot or will not fathom reality itself, especially if they are constrained to find it in authors of little stylistic or linguistic value."⁶¹

The remark was worthy of its author and could very well be applied to certain of the superficially cultured men of later years. But the Founder regarded it as a poor criterion for the formation of members of the Society. Hence he ordered Polanco, his secretary, to give the great theologian a confidential account of the Ignatian ideas on the subject—ideas with which Lainez was quite familiar.⁶²

Exaggerations, wrote Polanco on May 21, must be avoided for the reasons wisely put forth by Lainez. Though it will be the duty of Superiors to see that no one wanders *ad libitum* among the flowers of grammar,⁶³ the problem really consists in establishing the precise point where it can be said that exaggeration begins.

There is no exaggeration, however great an accomplishment it may appear, in that which is required for a man "to possess" truly the humanities and to make himself master of the languages. Father Ignatius "holds it of supreme importance that Ours be good Latinists"; and to study half of Latin and Greek is equivalent to "pushing the rock of Sysiphus up to the very brink of the hill, and then rolling it down to begin again at the bottom." "Because I did exactly that," Polanco says wittily of himself, "I found myself with a half-knowledge of Greek though I took it up three times; and as for Hebrew, I have very little left of it to forget. . . ."⁶⁴ Nor should there be any misgiving about this abundant classical forma-

⁶⁰ Lainez was not a humanist though very learned in the writings of the Holy Fathers. Cf. HERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁶¹ The words of Lainez have been preserved by Polanco in his reply. MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, I, p. 521.

⁶² It was for this reason that Polanco's letter of May 21, 1547, was published among those "by order" of the General himself. *Ibid.*, pp. 519-526.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 525.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

tion; for "the study of literature did not blunt, so to speak, the intellectual lances of Jerome and Augustine; it did not prevent them from penetrating right deeply into the knowledge of things"; not to mention Plato and Aristotle. Rather it is of urgent necessity for the son of the Society, "whether he has to deal orally or in writing with persons speaking a different language, or to preach and converse becomingly with people to whom the humanities are more natural and familiar. In these studies much may be learned, besides, that is of considerable use for the future; for example, history, cosmography, and the various styles of rhetoric."⁶⁵

Here, continues the secretary in the name of St. Ignatius, touching on the very nerve-center of the question—namely, the formative value of classical studies—we have the best means adapted for "entering gradually upon intellectual work; for they open the mind and make it more competent to grapple with more serious matters." It is from the want of this formation in the tender years of youth that "many learned men keep their knowledge to themselves; and the rest, if they have to share them with others, cannot do it with the authority and the profit they would derive from them if they possessed the faculty of making themselves understood as they themselves understand, and could thus make their concepts as clear and intelligible to their listeners as they are clear and intelligible in their own minds. And it seems that it is *this* that ought to be verified in the Scholastic doctors also; for if they had succeeded in communicating their subtle lucubrations to others, and had instilled them in hearers who themselves had a similar communicative skill in explaining the problems, then it would have come to pass that with the knowledge that would have remained to them they would have garnered greater profit than they have accomplished with all their knowledge." And the author considers this point of view so very well founded and logical that he believes it to be a tradition dating from the Ancients; "excepting," he says, "a few years during which barbarism reigned in letters as well as in morals, instead of study. But apart from this period, the method of procedure in Greece and Italy (and so, I believe, in the other parts of the world) is this: from a solid foundation in the humanities to the study of the other disciplines."⁶⁶

I do not regret the length of this strategic citation. It is strategic because it has brought us directly to the heart of Loyola's concept of humane letters. Substantially, we cannot find in the future *Ratio Studiorum* a more perfect orientation of ideas with regard to classical studies.

⁶⁵ The study of history is mentioned twice in the letter, p. 523, 6; 525, 2. History here meant the factual elucidation of ancient authors rather than any special lessons in this branch. Ribadeneira's personality shows just how much this material helped form the historian. Cf. FUETER, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (München², 1936), pp. 282 ff.; HERMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-218; FARRELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-251.

⁶⁶ MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, I, p. 522.

It is an orientation fully and completely humanistic, because there is no question of a simple manoeuvre of conformity to the vogue of the times, nor is it merely a polemic discovery for dealing conveniently with monarchs and cardinals, for confuting Calvinists and Lutherans; nor is it merely a tactical novitiate in preparation for theological studies, unadapted to the physical and mathematical sciences and romance literature, as several more or less liberal authors have insinuated and even insisted upon in token of their contempt.⁶⁷ No; there is question of a profound and mature concept of the formation of a man that is based on the natural quality and spontaneous functioning of our faculties, that appraises with a sure sense of history and of Providence the eternal values of the Greco-Roman culture as sanctified by the Gospel, and that proclaims above the lopsided disquisitions of intellectualism and fantastic dislocations of exaggerated Baroque, the full harmony of man who is at once imagination, mind, and heart. Clearly St. Ignatius of Loyola did not create an ideal which was in substance that of Erasmus and St. Thomas More, of Vives and Budé;⁶⁸ but by comprehending and accepting all its human and progressive implications, he dug down to its ultimate roots with all the power of his practical genius, adapted it still more effectively to the traditional and catholic spirit of the Roman Church,⁶⁹ and by grafting it to the sturdy and flexible activity of his religious order, assured it a permanence still more enduring. This is the point we have now to recall.

IV. THE FOUNDATION OF COLLEGES FOR EXTERNS

So far we have seen the program of studies that Ignatius preferred for the formation of his own young men; but we have not touched the question of the source or institute of learning where they were to receive it. This question presented a truly provocative problem.

The first to suggest the solution (as related by St. Ignatius himself⁷⁰)

⁶⁷ For example COMPAYRE, *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'Education depuis le XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1885) and his various translators. For a refutation of their position, cf. the articles of P. BARBERA in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for 1939 and 1940 already cited.

⁶⁸ We hold with HERMAN (*op. cit.*, pp. 46-47) and with BARBERA, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1923, I, p. 526, that the *Ratio Studiorum* cannot be considered simply as an adaptation of the methods of Vives; it is, however, true that there are remarkable points of similarity between those methods and Polanco's letter. In this sense I would admit many of the ideas of E. RIVARI, *La sapienza psicologica e pedagogica in Giovanni Ludovico Vives de Valenza* (Bologna, 1922).

⁶⁹ This is especially true of Erasmus. Cf. M. AICARDO, S. J., *Comentario de las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, III, pp. 313-317; G. NEYRON, *Saint Ignace de Loyola en presence des idées de son temps*, "Revue apologetique," 53 (1931), pp. 141 ff.; G. SCHNUEERER, *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in der Barockzeit* (Paderborn, 1937), pp. 29 ff.; G. VILLOSLADA, S. J., *Humanismo y Contrarreforma, o Erasmo y S. Ignacio de Loyola*, "Razon y Fé," 121 (1940), pp. 5-37.

⁷⁰ "Quién inventó los Colegios? R. Lainez fue el primero que tocó este punto. Nosotros hallábamos dificultad por causa de la pobreza; y así quién tocava unos remedios, quién otros." In the "Memorial" of G. de Camara, n. 138. MHSI, *Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, p. 220.

was Father Lianez. Young candidates were to attend lectures and perform the prescribed literary exercises in the universities, but for their community life and certain other scientific and religious complements of their formation, colleges destined exclusively for the students of the order would be founded.⁷¹

The Founder and others objected that these colleges would require fixed revenues—a serious obstacle, since houses of the new order, which was devoted to poverty in its extreme degree, could not receive them. After a very keen discussion it was decided as early as 1539 that such revenues could be allowed, by making a distinction between the unprovided professed houses of the Society, and those endowed with revenues for the formation of its students.⁷²

From 1540 onward, the colleges of Paris, Louvain, Padua, Coimbra, Alcalá, and Valencia came into being in the shadow of as many famous universities. These colleges were exclusively for the candidates of the Jesuit order and had no college of professors attached to them; the universities themselves supplied this need.⁷³ This type of college was dear to the heart of Ignatius even as a means of reforming and attracting the external students of the universities. Speaking of the year 1546, Secretary Polanco declares: "Videbatur P. Ignatius non parum exoptare ut in praecipuis quibusdam Italiae locis aliqua collegia, ubi nostri litteris darent opera (non ubi alios docerent), instituerentur."⁷⁴

Nevertheless, there soon came forward generous founders of colleges, such as those in towns that had neither university nor secondary school of any importance; a circumstance that brought with it the opportunity—or rather, we should say, almost the necessity—of choosing masters from among the Jesuits themselves. For example, the Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, founded such a college in Gandia in 1545. St. Ignatius examined this new type of institution and ended by accepting it, appointing among others Father Francis Onfroí as professor of arts.⁷⁵ Here was the second step towards colleges for non-Jesuit students.

The third and final step—that is, the opening of such colleges to

⁷¹ The editors of the MHSI, *Constitutiones*, II, p. CXLII, have recently proved that this is the true meaning of Lainez' reply. FARRELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17, holds the same opinion and rightly believes that Lainez had already made his suggestion in 1539.

⁷² Cf. MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, pp. CCVI, 19, 29-30.

⁷³ We must not forget the decision of the "Deliberaciones" of 1541: "Hacer colegios en Universidades . . . No estudios ni lecciones en la Compagnia." *Ibid.*, p. 47. And with this we can understand Polanco's observation regarding the College of Coimbra in 1545: "Cum studia in ea Universitate (Conimbricensi), adductis undequaque praeceptoribus, florerent, domestica etiam nostri Collegii studia praeclare procedebant." MHSI, *Chron.*, I, p. 157.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177; cf. also MHSI, *Mon. Paed.*, pp. 1-49.

⁷⁵ FARRELL, *op. cit.*, p. 432, has a good collection of the sources regarding the foundation of Gandia.

young externs⁷⁶—was not taken by St. Ignatius until the following year, and even then he did not do it on his own initiative. It was the idea rather of those externs who wanted the youth of their own town to share the advantages of knowledge and virtue that they perceived in the new religious.

A first experiment in this new direction had already been made in the year 1543 in those countries where the need for Christian instruction was most deeply felt; namely, in India and in Germany.

The Portuguese of Goa had, indeed, asked and obtained from Xavier in that year permission for an initial Jesuit aid in the teaching of the little College of Diego de Bourba, which was there before the Jesuits came.⁷⁷

Meanwhile the Internuncio of Germany, the Rector, and several professors of the University of Ingolstadt succeeded in getting Father Claude Le Jay or one of his confrères to accept a chair of theology in that place.⁷⁸ Father Claude was inclined to allow this exception in favor of lands so afflicted by heresy,⁷⁹ and St. Ignatius himself in 1545 offered one of his four most learned sons for this purpose.⁸⁰

But even before these plans for defense against the Protestants could be realized in 1548-1549, and before the missionary College of Goa passed under direct control of the Society (*circa* 1549), the Founder had received the most peremptory and urgent invitation from the cities of Catholic Restoration in Spain and Italy. Among the first was the College of Gandia mentioned above. The splendor of the first of its public specimens in philosophy and arts, personally organized by the Rector, Father de Oviedo, drew the praises of the saintly Archbishop of Valencia, Thomas of Villanova, and consequent upon this came the request from various families that their children be permitted to profit by such instruction. The Rector, Andres de Oviedo, (and this goes without saying!) did not know how to say no. The intercession of the saintly Duke with the General was added in favor of the plan. In 1546, St. Ignatius took the first great step in approving the innovation.⁸¹ "Hoc fuit primum collegium in quo Nostri docerent," wrote Nadal in his *Ephemerides*.⁸²

⁷⁶ A *fourth step* was that of founding colleges destined exclusively for externs; a *fifth* was the founding of boarding colleges for the same. On this very important point, which is beyond the scope of this paper, cf. HERMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15; SCHROTELER, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.; AICARDO, S. J., *Comentario a las Constituciones . . .*, III (Madrid, 1922), pp. 94 ff.

⁷⁷ Sources in TOURNIER, *art. cit.*, p. 479; FARRELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 21.

⁷⁸ MHSI, *Chron.*, I, pp. 113, 132, 152.

⁷⁹ "Quamvis . . . munus in Universitatibus legendi Societatis nostrae Professoribus non convenire censebat, in Germaniae tamen vastitate ad gloriam Dei et reductionem eius regionis perutile id fore arbitrabatur." *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁸⁰ "A Patre Ignatio quatuor ei theologi propositi fuerunt," of whom we know the names of three: Lainez, Salmeron, and Le Jay himself. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁸¹ See the sources in FARRELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

⁸² MHSI, *Mon. Nadal*, II, p. 3.

A call still more urgent and fruitful was added to this towards the close of 1547. Don Juan de Vega, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the work of Ignatius, then vice-regent of Sicily and some years later (1557) president of the Council of Castille,⁸³ had persuaded the municipality of Messina to beg the General to found a college for the youth of the town. He had hopes that this college would reform and revive the whole island.

St. Ignatius was inclined to accept the foundation.⁸⁴ Still more, he decided to give it all the solemnity that befitted a new epoch in the life of the order and to lay the foundation of his definitive system of studies. He personally selected the fine flower of all his sons to fill the positions of rector and faculty: Jerome Nadal, Peter Canisius, Andrew des Frux (Frusius), Benedict Palmio, Hannibal du Coudray; and he arranged that before departure they should beg the blessing of the venerable Paul III.⁸⁵ One might well say that the great Farnese Pope had some inkling of the designs of Providence, for, noting that the number of those present at the audience was twelve,⁸⁶ he sent them forth as a new Apostolic College to conquer souls by means of education!

The effects were astonishing, first of all because they opened before the eyes of Ignatius himself the clear and broad horizons of the educational activity of his order. By the following year (1549)⁸⁷ he had conceived the plan of the Collegio Romano, which shortly afterwards was to be converted into an international center of knowledge and virtue under the guardianship of the Pope, and was to be transformed into a model for all other colleges.

When his plan took shape, in 1551, he sent out a circular to the whole Society, dated December 1 of the same year, officially advising it of the new form of apostolate, recommending that similar colleges should be opened all over Europe, and transmitting the basic norms for the system of teaching.⁸⁸

In 1552 the idea is further developed with the founding of the German

⁸³ The first idea was due to Doctor Ignatius Lopez and the knight Diego de Cardona. MHSI, *Chron.*, I, p. 242.

⁸⁴ "Nuestro Padre, por el mucho crédito que da al testimonio del señor Visorey de la necesidad espiritual de ese reino (de Sicilia) . . . y el fruto que se espera al divino servicio, y por estar ahí la persona de su Excelencia, se ha dispuesto . . . de faltar en otras partes por cumplir en esa." Letter of Polanco to Domenecq towards the end of 1547, MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, I, p. 673.

⁸⁵ Cf. the detailed account of Polanco, *Chron.*, I, pp. 268-269; *S. Ignatii Ep.*, II, pp. 25 ff.

⁸⁶ "Doce con los dos les acompañabamos" says Polanco. Cf. *S. Ignatii Ep.*, II, p. 52..

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 448, Letter of June 27, 1549. But it is not true that St. Ignatius put the rule of the Roman College into the hands of Nadal as they were leaving for Messina, as a slip of the pen by HERMAN would have us believe, p. 52.

⁸⁸ MHSI, *S. Ignatii Ep.*, IV, p. 5. The more detailed instruction comes somewhat later, March 31, 1553, *ibid.*, p. 684.

College in Rome. Here the youth whom the Lutheran revolt had deprived of intellectual formation in their own afflicted country were to receive it beside the remains of the martyrs of the Roman faith, at the foot of the indestructible rock of Peter.⁸⁹

The cycle comes to a triumphant close when the Roman and German colleges suggest to Cardinal Pole, Papal Legate in England, the erection of diocesan seminaries in that island; and when shortly afterwards the Cardinal and the Jesuits assisting him, provide the impulse which urges the Council of Trent to extend to the whole Church the foundation of similar seminaries.⁹⁰

Contemporaneously there had arisen a whole swarm of colleges in Italy from 1549 to 1556; the first seven in Spain and Portugal had been opened; and those of Prague, Vienna, and Ingolstadt offered a glimpse of what was to save the Church in Germany. The Protestant Paulsen, the greatest historian of education in Germany, has given us this significant judgment: "It can be said that the preservation of the Catholic Church in the southeast and northeast of Germany is owing to the colleges of the Society of Jesus. In the middle of the sixteenth century the Catholic cause was almost lost in those regions. And yet in a few decades the Protestant advance was checked, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century Catholicism is already prepared to launch the offensive of the reconquest. And as far as one can humanly conjecture (he adds) it would have gained its objectives effectively had it not been for the interposition of the political interests of Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus and France under Richelieu."⁹¹

St. Ignatius, foreseeing this marvelous development even in 1549, tried to endow the new apostolate with that canonical basis which was lacking, at least in explicit form, in the bull that constituted the order. Thus we find in the new bull of Paul III *Licet debitum*, of October 23, 1549, the following clause: "Praeposito Generali eiusdem Societatis, ut quos de suis idoneos iudicaverit ad lectiones theologiae et aliarum facultatum, alterius licentia ad id minime requisita, ubi libet deputare possit . . . concedimus et indulgemus."⁹² Again, the new bull of Julius III *Exposcit debitum*, of

⁸⁹ Furthermore, it is well known that Cardinal Morone played an important part in the plan. Cf. STEINHUBER, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum im Rom* (Freiburg i. B., 1895).

⁹⁰ Cf. NATALIO DIAZ, S. J., *S. Ignacio y los Seminarios* (Montevideo, 1939); BRASSELL, *Praefatio reformationis Tridentinae in Seminariis clericorum* (Doctorate thesis presented to the Canon Law Faculty of the Gregorian University).

⁹¹ PAULSEN, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, I, p. 417.

⁹² MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, p. 367. Cf. also the preparation of this Bull on the point of extern scholars, *ibid.*, pp. 188-189, 287, etc.

July 21, 1550, includes for the first time the word "lectiones" in the description of the very purpose for which the order was founded.⁹³

It took time for the Saint to form this new ideal from the teaching practice of the colleges for externs. It was a slow process because in the beginning he was almost completely absorbed by the more direct and more immediately pressing apostolate of preaching, of teaching catechism, of giving the Exercises, and of administering the sacraments. He went about it slowly, because in the idea of the colleges he had to overcome several difficulties touching the perfection of poverty that he sought for his order,⁹⁴ and involving that elasticity of movement that was all his own; a mobility more easily realized among missionaries and in *operarii* in residence than in the fixed regularity of courses and teaching professors. Delay was inevitable, finally, because in welcoming new projects and outlining new plans his sense of the practical drove him ahead (good Basque that he was!) at a pace that was sure, but slow and firm.

Once the new program was conceived and determined upon, he applied to it, with superhuman effort, all the flame and lightning of his apostolic zeal, all the experience gathered years ago from his own studies and from those of his Jesuit sons, all the uncanny understanding of individual and social psychology that stands out so prominently in his Exercises and in his Constitutions.

It was thus that he gave to that multiple network of colleges already founded, and that broader and more extended chain that the future clearly promised, a legislation that even today is backbone and key to the humanistic pedagogy of the order.

V. LEGISLATION FOR THE COLLEGES OF THE HUMANITIES

At an early date St. Ignatius thought it advisable to give his colleges a uniform rule that would make detailed and variant legislation unnecessary. Thus we observe that between 1548 and 1549 his secretary Polanco gathers and compares the various regulations that were gradually taking

⁹³ Here are the two formulae:

1540

"ad hoc potissimum institutae, ut ad profectum animarum in vita et doctrina christiana, et ad fidei propagationem per publicas praedicationes et verbi Dei ministerium, spiritualia exercitia et charitatis opera, et nominatim per puerorum ac rudium in christianismo institutionem, ac christifidelium in confessionibus audiendis spiritualem consolationem praecipue intendat."

1550

"ad hoc potissimum institutae ut ad fidei *defensionem* et propagationem et profectum animarum in vita et doctrina christiana, per publicas praedicationes, *lectiones* et aliud quodcumque verbi Dei ministerium, ac spiritualia exercitia, puerorum ac rudium in christianismo institutionem, Christifidelium in confessionibus audiendis ac caeteris Sacramentis administrandis spiritualem consolationem, praecipue intendat."

⁹⁴ Cf. above note 70, and MHSI, *Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, p. 738. On the "gratuity" of Jesuit teaching, cf. the interesting appendix in FARRELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 436 ff.

shape in Italy, in Portugal, in Belgium, and in Spain.⁹⁵ He notes that they will remain in force only until such time as the General Constitutions of the colleges, which were then under revision at Rome,⁹⁶ should be sent out to all. He also completes, under the Founder's supervision, a set of Constitutions the detailed text of which, differing considerably from that of Part IV of the General Constitutions, I was able to identify in a recent article for the AHSI.⁹⁷

Between 1550 and 1553 the Saint prudently changed his tactics. For the whole multitude of colleges and faculties which he already knew all over the world, and in that still more indeterminate number yet to be, he continues to hold as indispensable a certain order and a certain unity. Man is one, and therefore the literature and the science of all nations must be one. Hence there ought to be a uniform law; and this he treats especially in Part IV of the Constitutions which, with the aid of the same Polanco, he was drawing up at this time.⁹⁸

But such a basic law must not be transformed into a regulation which would pluck the wings of initiative in individual colleges or render impossible their adaptation to the milieu in which they lived and grew, thus bringing on senility and decay in a few decades. Therefore only the invariable, universal norm will find place in the Constitutions. Each college will make its own rules, and determine to what extent it may be feasible to avail itself of those recently established for the Roman College,⁹⁹ which, within the limits of the possible, were to serve as a model for all the others.¹⁰⁰

With experience and with the modifications suggested by use, it would be possible in time, he adds, to outline a more general and uniform statute.¹⁰¹ But when the Constitutions were promulgated, such a statute had not yet been written, nor would it have figured in the legislative code even if it had been written, for "this does not descend to particulars."¹⁰²

So precise a vision of the legislative structure of studies gives us the measure of the maturity already reached by the human and organizing

⁹⁵ Cf. his notes published in the MHSI, *Paed.*, pp. 78-84. On their dates, cf. AHSI, 3 (1934), p. 56.

⁹⁶ MHSI, *Paed.*, p. 620, note d; *S. Ignatii Ep.*, II, pp. 55, 268, 472, 550.

⁹⁷ AHSI, 7 (1938), pp. 1-30. The text of the document in MHSI, *Paed.*, pp. 55-78.

⁹⁸ Polanco's collaboration was especially marked in the fourth part. Ignatius himself once said to Nadal: "dixit nihil esse in Constitutionibus quod sit Polanci quantum ad rerum *substantiam*, nisi in *re Collegiorum* aliquid et *Universitatum*; quod tamen est de eius mente." MHSI, *Constitutiones*, II, p. CLXIV; AHSI, 7 (1938), pp. 3-4.

⁹⁹ *Const.*, Part IV, ch. 7, n. 2, Declar. C.

¹⁰⁰ We hope soon to publish the critical edition of these first "rules" for the Roman College in the *Gregorianum*.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 13, Declar. A. The future *Ratio Studiorum*.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, ch. 7, n. 2.

genius of Loyola, thanks to which, four centuries have not availed to unhinge the machinery, at once national and international, of Jesuit education. The rules have suffered change, the *Ratio Studiorum* itself has been modified on various occasions, and even today is in process of revision, but the norms of the Constitutions, intact in themselves and invariable in their universality, continue in our own times, as they did when Ignatius was alive, to unify and vivify the hundreds of institutions where Jesuits teach. The organic law has triumphed over the rule; the Constitutions' norms outlive the *Ratio Studiorum* itself.¹⁰³

These norms can be summarized in a few fundamental principles that we should like to recall. In the first place, there is the esteem for classical studies as an irreplaceable and continuous formation for any type of higher discipline. Mentioned in Part IV of the Constitutions are not only philosophy and theology, but likewise canon law and medicine. And for all four the foundation is declared to be "letters"—that is (as the text expressly defines), Latin grammar, Greek and even Hebrew, rhetoric and poetry, and finally (a subject we often forget to mention) history.¹⁰⁴

To show further what credit this foundation deserves, the Constitutions make of it a faculty distinct from that of the arts or philosophy, with its respective dean—the Faculty of Languages and Humane Letters.¹⁰⁵

In its autonomy this distinction recalls the trilingual colleges of Louvain, Alcalá, and Salamanca.¹⁰⁶ In title and rank of faculty it recalls the ephemeral effort of the Emperor Maximilian with his "facultas docendi in poesi et oratoria" in the University of Vienna,¹⁰⁷ but with much happier results. It is a well-known fact that the Jesuit faculties of letters, by their gradual evolution in the direction of technical independence, whether as an organic part of university colleges or as colleges apart, contributed very effectively to the formation of the modern classical secondary schools.

One further circumstance should be noted. The universality and adaptability which the perennial humanism of the Ignatian Constitutions aims to achieve does not exclude the cultivation of national literature, the natural sciences, mathematics, and history in greater measure than the other humanistic curricula and the *Ratio Studiorum* itself prescribed in the sixteenth century. For this very reason, when it was deemed necessary to retouch the *Ratio* on these lines in the nineteenth century,¹⁰⁸ the Consi-

¹⁰³ FARRELL, *op. cit.*, p. 131, has very happily pointed this out showing how precise and fruitful are the laws on teaching and education found in Part IV of the Constitutions.

¹⁰⁴ Part IV, ch. 12, n. 2, and Declar. A.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 17, n. 4-5.

¹⁰⁶ On these famous colleges, cf. BATAILLON, *op. cit.*, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, pp. 371-372, 777-778.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. PAULSEN, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 132-134.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. BARBERA in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1940, II, pp. 117-119.

tutions were left intact along with their humanistic ideal. By virtue of the legislative code of St. Ignatius, the classical studies of the sixteenth century acquired an uninterrupted stability in teaching practice which neither Vives nor Erasmus ever attained by their own efforts.

In the second place, the Ignatian Constitution offers us the fundamental principles which this humanistic education calls for, together with the basic arrangement of its courses and exercises. In substance these principles may be reduced to the development and improvement of the methods which we have seen in operation at the College of Sainte-Barbe and adapted by Father Nadal to that of Messina, and by Fathers Nadal and Olave to the Roman College:¹⁰⁹ a strict gradation of the three courses of grammar and of those of the humanities and rhetoric; the adoption of texts for their use, which, after repeated examination, were chosen by higher superiors; continual exercise on the part of the pupils in oral and written compositions, which serve as a stimulus to work and develop the faculties of the individual harmoniously and realistically; illustration from history of all that may be necessary to understand and possess the models of antiquity, as purged of their immoral or dangerous passages;¹¹⁰ serious and regular repetition of matter already studied with the personal notes by the pupil himself;¹¹¹ generous use of competition and moderate recourse to punishment that must never be administered by the master himself; development of the hidden resources of the adolescent, especially by means of composition and by the presentation of dramas, comedies, and solemn public acts.

All of this (and one of the most essential elements is here) implies personal guidance for each student¹¹² by a professor who focuses all his knowledge and all the solicitude that his religious vows impose upon him, on loving and forming his pupil. The general administration is entrusted to a chancellor or to a prefect-general of studies, the real spirit of the school;¹¹³ and finally, there is supervision from a distance by the General

¹⁰⁹ Nadal's influence made itself felt principally in the ordering of the humanistic studies, cf. FARRELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.; Olave's consisted rather in the systematization of theology, cf. MALAXECHEVARRIA, *Martín de Olave* (Rome, 1940), pp. 207 ff.

¹¹⁰ P. BARBERA, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1940, II, p. 130, rightly maintains that this tract also belongs to Vives.

¹¹¹ "Acabada alguna facultad, será bien repasarla, viendo algun autor o autores más del que la primera vez . . . , y con el mesmo haciendo de lo que toca a tal facultad un extracto más breve y digesto que eran los primeros escritos que iba haciendo cuando no tenía aquella inteligencia que después de acabados sus cursos." Part IV, ch. 6, n. 16.

¹¹² "Haya maestros diversos segun la capacidad y número de los oyentes y que tengan cuenta con el aprovechamiento de cada uno de sus escolares y les demanden razón de sus lecciones." *Ibid.*, ch. 13, n. 3.

¹¹³ The Prefect was described as "instrumento general del Rector para ordenar bien los estudios." *Ibid.*, ch. 17, n. 2.

of the Society, to whom the pupils' written exercises are to be sent at certain times.¹¹⁴

Here we have a system which may seem to lack originality in its component elements; but its success is due to the startling simplicity with which it combines them into an organic whole. It is successful above all because it is sustained and animated by a religious order whose vigorous and flexible organization guarantees its proper functioning by transfusion of its own apostolic spirit.

Thus we are faced with the last and most important characteristic of Ignatian pedagogy: "its subordination to man's last end and to the end of the Society, that is, the Kingdom of Christ and the glory of God in the perfection of individual souls."¹¹⁵ The Constitutions openly proclaim it with none of the reticence and reservations attributed at times to the Society, but with all the prudence necessary for the true apostolate:

Let very special care be taken that those who frequent the Society's Universities acquire not only learning but also a character worthy of a Christian. To this end it will help much that all should confess at least once a month, attend Mass every day and a sermon every feast day; in this matter the masters shall take care of each one in their charge. Let those who can be easily directed conform themselves to what is said of confession, Mass and sermon, Christian doctrine and recitation. Let others be lovingly persuaded, and not forced or expelled from the schools for not conforming, provided that they do not become an occasion of corruption or scandal to the others.¹¹⁶

It would be superfluous to descend to other particulars of this inevitable preoccupation of the Constitutions. It radiates from the potent and logical dynamism of their author's religious psychology, from the history of the origins of the colleges of the order illustrated in these pages, and from the very structure of the Ignatian code.

The Saint (as we have said before) was slow in forming the ideal of the "Apostolate of the Colleges," but once it was conceived he impressed upon it, with superhuman strength, the stamp of his whole personality and of all his work: the consistent totalitarianism of "ad maiorem Dei gloriam."

He foresaw besides that this ideal of his would be realized with particular success in the field of education. Ribadeneira tells us that the Founder sent him off in 1549 to begin his lectures in the College of Messina (the first, as we have shown above, to be really organized by the order) with these words, "Peter, if we live for ten years, we shall see

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 6, Declar. L. "Ignatius tam erat sollicitus de scholasticorum profectu, ut vellet eorum latinas epistolas, *incorrectas a magistro*, Romam mitti, ut quantum quisque profecisset cerneretur." MHSI, *Chron.*, I, p. 492.

¹¹⁵ "Procurar el edificio de letras y el modo de usar de ellas, para ayudar a más conocer y servir a Dios nuestro Criador y Señor. Para esto abraza la Compañía los Colegios . . ." Part IV, Proemium, n. 1.

¹¹⁶ Part IV, ch. 16, n. 1, and Declar. A.

great things in the Society. Do I say if *we* live? If *you* live, you shall see it; because, as for me, I do not think I shall live that long."¹¹⁷

Peter remembered this with emotion when the decade was over. The Founder had died, as he had predicted, three years previously, and the seed which had been first planted in the Messina college for externs had already been scattered through Asia and Europe and had produced thirty-five colleges, with seven others and more in the process of formation.¹¹⁸

Long life afforded Ribadeneira new grounds for consolation when in 1606, some forty-seven years later, new statistics were published. Spread over the world were 293 colleges, of which 38 were in America, India, and Japan.¹¹⁹

Today, four centuries afterwards, statistics attest a still more complete fulfillment of the prophecy of St. Ignatius. In 1939, on five continents, there existed some 244 colleges and secondary schools under the direction of the Society (besides 128 scholasticates for its own religious, novitiates excluded), 110 major and minor seminaries, and 46 universities and institutions of higher learning,¹²⁰ to which should be added the 7,816 lower schools established for the most part in mission lands, educating no less than 375,954 children.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ MHSI, *Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, p. 359.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the index published by FARRELL in AHSI, 8 (1939), pp. 111-113.

¹¹⁹ Cf. RIBADENEIRA, *Illustrium scriptorum Religionis Soc. Iesu tractatus* (Antwerpiae, 1608), p. 287.

¹²⁰ Statistics by P. BARBERA in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1939, II, p. 135.

¹²¹ *Societatis Iesu Notae historico-iuridico-statisticae . . . pro Religiosis missionariis* . . . , 21 (1940), fasc. 4°.

